

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



MARCH, 1956



EDITORIALS

Twenty-Fifth Year! Twenty-Fifth Volume . . .
American Church History in Our Theological Semi-
naries . . . Henry Compton, Ecclesiastical States-
man.

"Henry Compton"

1632-1713

Bishop of London

1675-1713

Pioneer Leader in the Expansion of
The Anglican Communion

By LAWRENCE L. BROWN

REVIEWS: I. American Church History and Bio-
graphy.
II. English and General Church History.
III. Theology and Philosophy.

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Editorials

Twenty-Fifth Year! Twenty-Fifth Volume!



WITH this issue, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE begins its 25th year, 25th volume, of continuous publication, with the record of having published 9,622 pages of history and biography concerning the American Episcopal Church, including phases of the history of the Church of England.

The record of published volumes is as follows:

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Total number of pages published, 1932-1955.....9,622

The current Volume XXV (1956) should witness to a total publication of 10,000 pages of history and biography. Throughout these 24 years, in spite of depression and war and inflation, the price has remained the same—\$4.00 per year for domestic subscriptions; \$5.00 per year for foreign subscriptions.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

American Church History in Our Theological Seminaries

WE are happy to record that the past decade has witnessed a striking improvement in the teaching of American Church History in our theological seminaries. More time is given to the subject, and students are assigned, or encouraged to write upon, special subjects. In all this, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* is indispensable, according to what the professors of Church history tell us. And why should not our clergy know well the history of the Church to which they will give the best years of their lives?

W. H. S.

Henry Compton, Ecclesiastical Statesman

IT has been stated that Thomas B. Reed (1839-1902), speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives two separate times, 1889-91, 1895-99, was the originator of the rather cynical saying that "a statesman is a dead politician."

Whether or not Henry Compton was a politician, we shall leave each reader of Professor Brown's essay to determine for himself. But it cannot reasonably be denied that he was an ecclesiastical statesman of a high order, especially in the initial expansion of the Anglican Church beyond the British Isles. His part in the Revolution of 1688 was important, and he crowned William and Mary. As Bishop of London, he served under four sovereigns—Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne. This in itself was quite a record, bearing in mind the tumult of the times.

Is it not then passing strange that English historians and biographers have neglected him? The *Dictionary of National Biography* has a sketch of Compton by S. L. Lee, but it says nothing about his overseas influence. Even the third edition (1948) of the *Dictionary of English Church History* limits itself to a paragraph about him under the subject, "LONDON, See of," although it has separate sketches about his two successors in that see, Edmund Gibson and Thomas Sherlock.

It was an American layman, Charles P. Keith, Litt.D., author of *Chronicles of Pennsylvania* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1917) pp. 981, who first considered Compton worthy of special treatment by reading a biography of him before the Church Historical Society in Philadelphia,

thirty-seven years ago. This is Publication No. 3 of the Society, dated 1920, pp. 24.

We are glad to help rectify this neglect of Compton (some would say injustice to his memory) by publishing in the first issue of our Volume XXV this new appraisal of a great ecclesiastical statesman and a pioneer leader in the expansion of the Anglican Communion. And we thank Professor Brown for having made this the first of his major research projects.

It is our understanding that a full length biography of Bishop Compton by Edward Carpenter, author of *Thomas Sherlock, 1678-1761 . . . Bishop of London, 1748-1761* (London, S.P.C.K., 1936), is coming off the English press in April of this year. This we welcome, but let the March 1956 issue of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE stand as a token of American gratitude for an English ecclesiastical statesman, to whom we owe much.

W. H. S.



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HENRY COMPTON
1632-1713

BISHOP OF LONDON
1675-1713

Henry Compton

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**Pioneer Leader in the Expansion of
The Anglican Communion**

By

LAWRENCE L. BROWN, M.A., B.D.

*Associate Professor of Church History
The Episcopal Theological Seminary
of the Southwest*

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Preface

HENRY Compton, Bishop of London from 1675 to 1713, played a prominent part in the life of the English Church and nation. In times of crisis the signs of his activity and leadership are plain. Yet he has been strangely treated by historians. The verdict of one of his contemporaries seems to have been followed by those who have taken occasion to make an estimate of his character. Gilbert Burnet, the Scot who became bishop of Salisbury upon the accession of William and Mary, said of him:

His preaching was without much life and learning, for he had not gone through his studies with the exactness that was fitting. Compton was a weak man, willful, and strangely wedded to a party. He was a property to Lord Danby, and was turned by him as he pleased. . . .¹

Keith Feiling repeats this:

The old Cavalier, Henry Compton, in Burnet's opinion merely "a property to Lord Danby," was this year appointed to the see of London.²

Andrew Browning refers to him as:

. . . Danby's faithful follower Henry Compton, who had been promoted by his influence from the bishopric of Oxford to that of London.³

Thus has Burnet influenced two recent historians of note. Yet his remarks upon Compton are only mildly disparaging when compared to some he made about other notable people of his time who differed from him in politics or theology.

It is from the pen of Miss Agnes Strickland⁴ that most of the venom has flowed. She said of Compton:

. . . Henry Compton, bishop of London, who had forsaken the profession of a soldier, and assumed the clergyman's gown at the age of thirty—the great loyalty of his family procured him rapid advancement in the Church. The tendency of the Duke

¹Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time* (2 vols., Oxford, 1724-1734), I, 392.

²Keith Feiling, *History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714* (Oxford, 1924), 166.

³Andrew Browning, *Thomas Osbourne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, 1632-1712* (3 vols., Glasgow, 1951), I, 195.

⁴Agnes Strickland, *History of the Queens of England* (2nd ed., 12 vols. in 11, Philadelphia, 1851).

of York to Roman Catholic tenets had been suspected by the world; and Henry Compton, by outdoing every other bishop, in his violence against him, not only atoned for his own want of education, in the minds of his own countrymen, but gave him dominion over the children of the man he hated. . . . Bishop Compton possessed far less learning than soldiers of rank in general. . . .⁵

Several other reflections on the bishop are contained in her work. They are remarkable for the largeness of the inferences drawn from little or no evidence. Yet they have had their influence. S. L. Lee in the article, "Henry Compton," in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says that he had grave defects of character.⁶ The unsigned article in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* says: "He had conspicuous defects both in spirit and intellect. . . ."⁷ This statement is repeated verbatim by the late Edgar Legare Pennington in a recent article.⁸ Charles P. Keith said:

Dean Milman, in his *Annals of St. Paul's Cathedral*, and S. L. Lee in . . . the *Dictionary of National Biography* seem to have adopted the notion that no great amount of piety is to be placed to Compton's credit. . . . King James II, who, according to Burnet, hated Compton, once said of him that he talked more like a trooper than a bishop.⁹

If these things be true, the casual literature of the period, the correspondence, diaries, and general writings of disinterested people should reflect them. The plan of this thesis is to relate Compton's actions through the four reigns in which he was bishop of London, with as much of the contemporary reaction to them as had come to light in the sources studied, and weigh them against the accepted estimate of the man.

The first five chapters follow the course of his career chronologically until the accession of Queen Anne, with the exception that no attention is there given to Compton's administration of the Church in the colonies. No such spectacular events in the life of the bishop came to light in the reign of Anne as were seen in the previous periods, but it is in

⁵Agnes Strickland, *History of the Queens of England* (2nd ed., 12 vols. in 11, Philadelphia, 1851), X, 190.

⁶S. L. Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *Dictionary of National Biography*, XI, 447.

⁷Art. "Henry Compton," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., VI, 814.

⁸Edgar Legare Pennington, "Notes on George Keith's Journal," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XX (Dec. 1951), 477-8.

⁹Charles P. Keith, *Henry Compton, Bishop of London*, Church Historical Society Publication No. 3 (Philadelphia, 1920), 7.

this portion of his career that Compton earns the reputation of a High Church Tory.

In the sixth chapter, which covers his life from the accession of Queen Anne until his death in 1713, the effort is made to ascertain what his political and ecclesiastical principles were. In the next chapter, in which the colonial Church administration of the bishop is studied, no pretense of a comprehensive coverage of the colonial Church is made, since space would not permit. The intention is rather to assay the ability and the accomplishments of Compton in this sphere of his work.

Compton, the nobleman's son, is set against the social background of the clergy of his day in the eighth chapter. Two purposes impelled this study: the first was to try to discover if the social status of the clergy did contrast as much with that of the upper classes as some writers have asserted, and the second to see Compton's attitude in facing the problems which the distressed clergy of his day had to meet.

A composite picture of the character of Henry Compton is attempted in the last chapter. A statement of the materials that were not obtainable for this study is made there. The criticisms of his character contained in the accounts noticed in this study are evaluated, and qualities of his character which have come to light from the materials used are discussed.

LAWRENCE L. BROWN.

NOTE: This study was presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Texas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

L. L. B.

CHAPTER I

Background and Early Life

HENRY Compton was born at Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire, in 1632. The Comptons were a very old family in that county, lords of the manor of Compton Wynyates in the parish of that name since the early thirteenth century. The first member of the family nationally prominent was Sir William Compton, who became rich in the service of Henry VIII, and built Compton House on the manor about 1520.¹ By the time of his death in 1528, he held land in eighteen counties.² His grandson Henry, who was created Lord Compton in 1572, built Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, as his principal residence. He served as one of the peers who tried Mary Queen of Scots in 1586.³ It was his son William who was made earl of Northampton in 1618, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Spencer, lord mayor of London. Spencer Compton, the third earl, was wed to Mary, Sir Francis Beaumont's daughter, and had a numerous family, of whom the bishop of London was the sixth and youngest son. The earl enlisted two thousand men for the royalist army in the first Civil War, and was killed in the battle of Hopton Heath in 1643, being succeeded in the earldom by his oldest son James.⁴

Henry Compton entered Queen's College, Oxford, in 1649, and remained three years, after which he retired to live with his mother at Gryndon in Northamptonshire.⁵ It is possible that he was involved in a royalist rising about this time. Shortly afterward he went to the continent, where, it is said, he made a study of the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions of foreign countries.⁶ He must have found these studies particularly interesting in Italy, for he resided there for some time. It is also reported that he did military service under the duke of York in Flanders. At the Restoration he returned to England and was commissioned cornet in the Royal Horse Guards under the command of the earl of Oxford.⁷

¹*Victoria County History of Warwick*, ed. L. F. Salzman (London, 1949), V, 60ff.

²*Victoria County History of Northampton*, ed. L. F. Salzman (London, 1937), IV, 233.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Victoria County History of Warwick*, V, 65.

⁵Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, new ed. with additions by Philip Bliss (4 vols., London, 1820), IV, 514.

⁶Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D. N. B.*, XI, 433.

⁷Keith, *Compton*, 5.

It was not long before Compton decided to abandon the army for the Church, having likely been persuaded he was needed in the ministry by his study and experience abroad. He entered Cambridge in 1661, and after taking the master's degree in that year, was ordained in 1662.⁸ What employment he found in the next four years is not known, but there is some reason to suppose that he might have been in financial difficulties, for Keith says:

There was one flaw in Compton's private behavior, at least before he became a bishop, which I mention in order to escape the imputation of concealing any discreditable truth. His critics seem not to be aware, but it can be concluded from letters among the State Papers, that he lived expensively, and was less just in paying his debts promptly than he was afterwards generous in helping with alms and contributions.⁹

This reference has not been located. There is an entry in the *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1676-1679*¹⁰ which shows that on June 8, 1676, the First Fruits of the bishopric of London, amounting to £1,019, were divided into four equal annual payments for Compton, and he was discharged from the balance of £171 remaining due from him for the last two payments for the First Fruits of the bishopric of Oxford, and £21 for the rectory of Whitney. This information would by no means lead necessarily to Keith's conclusion because the bishopric of Oxford, a notoriously poor one, had been his for only one year. At the most it would tell us that he was not wealthy enough to pay the First Fruits in a lump sum, but it tells us nothing about his manner of life before coming to Fulham Palace.

In 1666 Compton re-entered Oxford as a canon commoner of Christ Church on the advice of Dr. John Fell, dean of Christ Church and vice-chancellor of the university. He took the M.A. at Oxford that year, and was made rector of Cottenham, Cambridgeshire. About this time he missed another place which he may have expected when he returned to Oxford. Dr. Wall, one of the canons of Christ Church, died in 1666, and it was thought that Compton would be his successor, but the place went instead to Richard Heylin.¹¹ The next year Compton was made Master of the Hospital of St. Cross at Winchester, and

⁸Keith, *Compton*, 6.

⁹*Ibid.*, 7-8.

¹⁰June 8, 1676, Treasurer Danby's subscription to docquet, [undated], *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1676-1679*, Pt. I, 236.

¹¹Heneage Finch to Daniel Finch, Oct. 27, 1666, *Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Finch Mss.*, I, 443. (Subsequent citations of this Commission's reports will be: *H.M.C. Rpt.*)

when Heylin died in 1669 he received the canonry as well. Soon afterward he took the degree of bachelor of divinity, and a month later that of doctor of divinity.¹² John Evelyn was present at the exercises on July 10, 1669, when Compton was one of the inceptors of theology, and wrote: "... Dr. Compton, brother to the Earl of Northampton, being Junior, began with great modesty and applause. . . ."¹³

While Compton seems not to have produced anything original while at Oxford, he published two translations which foreshadow his principal interest when he first came to the see of London. The first was *The Life of Donna Olympia Maldachina, Who Governed the Church During the Time of Pope Innocent X, Which Was From the Year 1644 to 1655*, and was rendered from the Italian. The other was *The Jesuit Intrigue, With Private Instructions of that Society to their Emissaries*, from a document in French intercepted by the authorities in London.¹⁴

On April 17, 1673, Compton preached at court, and again Evelyn was there, and recorded his impressions thus:

Dr. Compton, brother to the Earl of Northampton, preached on I Cor. V:11-16, showing the Church's power in ordaining things indifferent; this worthy person's talent is not preaching, but he is like to make a grave and serious good man.¹⁵

Something of his abilities seems to have impressed the court, for when the see of Durham fell vacant and it was determined to translate Crew thence from Oxford, Henry Compton was named to succeed him. An interesting letter shows Compton's constant care for regularity of procedure:

The bearer has with a great deal of industry despatched down my Conge d'Elire to Christ Church, immediately after my predecessor's confirmation, but so over officiously before his translation that they have chosen me before this latter was performed. Does the election stand good in this case?¹⁶

He was consecrated at Lambeth on December 6, 1674,¹⁷ and was allowed to retain his other offices because of the small income of the see. William Bray, editor of the *Diary of John Evelyn*, said of Compton: "he raised himself by his talents to be Bishop of Oxford. . . ."¹⁸ Of

¹²Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, IV, 514.

¹³*Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. Wm. Bray (4 vols., London, 1859), II, 45.

¹⁴Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, IV, 516.

¹⁵Evelyn, *Diary*, II, 89.

¹⁶Compton to Wm. Trumbull, St. Cross, Oct. 25, 1674, *H.M.C. Rpt., Downshire MSS.*, I, 8.

¹⁷Keith, *Compton*, 9.

¹⁸Evelyn, *Diary*, II, 45n.

his administration of this diocese nothing is known, but it is significant that Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, then resident in Oxford and a caustic commentator on almost everyone he mentioned, spoke of Compton without the slightest slur when discussing the possibility of his translation to London.¹⁹

In July of 1675, Compton was further honored by being made dean of the Chapel Royal. He attended the laying of the cornerstone of the new St. Paul's Cathedral in that same year, although neither the archbishop nor the bishop of London was there. He showed a great interest in the rebuilding of St. Paul's, worked for it over the whole course of his episcopate, and was privileged to see it completed in the reign of Queen Anne.²⁰

Late in 1675, Henchman of London died, and Compton was named to succeed him. Various reasons have been given for his translation. Burnet is usually followed:

And the See of London falling then void by Henchman's death, he [Danby] brought Compton, brother of the Earl of Northampton, to succeed him. . . . He was a property to Lord Danby, and was turned by him as he pleased.²¹

Anthony á Wood said:

. . . his translation to the vacant bishopric was urged by some strongly Protestant but quite politic clergymen, because they knew him to be a bold man, an enemy to the Papists, and one that would act and speak what they would put upon him, which they themselves would not be seen in, as many prime papists used to say.²²

There is likelihood in both these conjectures. Danby's interest would not be lessened by Compton's antipapalism, for he covertly shared it. At the same time, there were other factors. Compton's noble blood was certainly no barrier, nor would Charles II be reluctant to oblige so stout a royalist. Again, the Comptons were themselves a powerful family. The earl of Northampton was constable of the Tower and lord lieutenant of Warwickshire. The Comptons had great influence in Northamptonshire and in the town of Northampton, and were re-

¹⁹Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis, Nov. 8, 1675, *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux, Sometime Dean of Norwich, to John Ellis, Sometime Undersecretary of State, 1674-1722*, Camden Society Publications, New Series XV, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London, 1875), 48.

²⁰Keith, *Compton*, 9.

²¹Burnet, *His Own Time*, I, 392.

²²Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, IV, 515.

lated to other powerful families, including the Montagues and the Hattons.²³ Then John Fell, who succeeded him as bishop of Oxford, was a man of great influence, and Compton largely shared his views. It is quite probably that he threw his weight in the balance to secure this important place for Compton.

But another factor was of much greater importance: the vast administrative ability of Compton, with his thorough attention to detail, by which his long episcopate is marked. These qualities were needed in London's diocese, for the diocese was large, Henchman had been feeble for some time, and there was much work to do. Beside this, Archbishop Sheldon, now too feeble to do much, had stayed away from court for some years. There was need in London for a bishop who had the grace, the rearing, and the discretion to represent the Church in the royal court. But the archbishop's principal responsibility was the province of Canterbury, and the bishop of London is traditionally its dean, upon whom the leadership devolves when the archbishop is unable to act. Here, too, Compton's talents could well be used. There were at that time many men of great spiritual and intellectual qualities in the Church, but Compton possessed the gifts of practical leadership which were needed, and this fact must have had great weight in the decision to bring him to London.

²³*Victoria County History of Northampton*, III, ed. Wm. Page (London, 1930), 18.

CHAPTER II

Early Years of the London Episcopate



COMPTON was translated to London in December, 1675. He was made a member of the Privy Council on January 22, 1676,¹ and not long afterward appointed to its committee on Trade and Plantations.² He entered into his duties with vigor. One of his responsibilities was the censorship of the press, which compelled him to move to suppress any publications objectionable to Church or state. When he came to London, the struggle against papal intrigue had succeeded far enough to frighten Charles II into supporting the Church of England, but the duke of York and the queen continued to make their households bases for Roman Catholic activity.

Compton was brought into collision with them by his supervision of the press very soon. In August of 1676, Compton's agents seized a large quantity of English translations of the Roman Mass at a printer's, and at the same time found the license issued by the Portuguese ambassador for its publication. The bishop complained to the Privy Council; the ambassador was sent for, but claimed diplomatic immunity, in spite of holding the English office of chamberlain to the queen. In addition, Compton charged Edward Coleman, the duke's secretary, with publishing a book in defense of the supremacy of the pope, thereby greatly enraging the duke.³

The education of the Princesses Mary and Anne, the duke's daughters, was also placed under Compton's supervision, to insure their upbringing in the Anglican faith. This, of course, he had to entrust to chaplains of his appointment, because of the press of his many duties, but he saw to it so well that he not only succeeded in keeping them as loyal members of the Church, but retained their affection and respect through the years. He confirmed them during the first year of his London episcopate, and later officiated at their marriages.

Compton set about the pastoral duties of his office vigorously. Burnet says of him:

¹Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, IV, 515.

²*Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series* (6 vols., Hereford, 1908), I, Doc. 634.

³*Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, Being Chiefly Letters Addressed to Christopher, First Viscount Hatton, 1601-1704, Camden Society Publications, New Series, XXII, XXIII* (2 vols., London, 1878), I, 137-9.

He applied himself more to his function than other Bishops had commonly done. He went much about his diocese; and preached, and confirmed in many places.⁴

Overton says that he spent each summer in a different section of his diocese, "riding out every day to visit in person the churches and parsonage houses."⁵ The Rev. Edward Lake, chaplain and tutor by Compton's appointment to the Princess Anne, wrote in his diary:

This week the Bishop of London required all the ministers of London to meet him at Paul's, where he recommended to them these four things; first, that they would make a combination among themselves of preachers to preach every Wednesday and Friday in Lent, both in St. Bride's in the west, and St. Christopher's in the east, which, accordingly, they did; 2. that they would think of some way to suppress private christenings, except in cases of necessity: 3. to restore catechizing in all the churches in the afternoon; 4. that they would meet him in that place every month, to consult about the state of their parish and parishioners.⁶

In 1677, Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon died. Speculation was rife as to his successor. Dr. Lake made three different entries about it on the same day, recounting rumors about the court: the archbishop of Dublin would be translated, the archiepiscopal see would be put into the hands of the bishops of London, Rochester, and Oxford as commissioners, and finally that, in spite of the strong opposition of the duke of York, who was still smarting from the removal of Coleman from his household, Compton would be elevated to the place.⁷ In spite of Burnet's contrary assertion,⁸ Danby undoubtedly used his influence for him, but the forces against him were powerful, and there is evidence that he did not continue to aspire for the office at this time:

As yet we hear not of any archbishop. My Lord of London takes it not himself; but many are so zealous for him that 'tis said whoever else carries it, yet he will be at the head of the church.⁹

⁴Burnet, *His Own Time*, I, 392.

⁵J. H. Overton, *Life in the English Church, 1660-1714* (London, 1885), 67.

⁶"Diary of Dr. Edward Lake, Archdeacon and Prebendary of Exeter," ed. by Geo. Percy Elliott, *Camden Miscellany, Camden Society Publications, Old Series XXXIX* (Vol. I, London, 1847), 21.

⁷Lake, *Diary*, 11, 12. The bishop of Rochester was Dolben, later archbishop of York. He, too, had been a cavalryman, having commanded a troop for Charles I.

⁸Burnet, *His Own Time*, I, 392; Browning, *Danby*, I, 202.

⁹Sir Robert Southwell to the Duke of Ormond, Nov. 27, 1677, *H.M.C. Rpt., Ormonde MSS*, New Series, IV, 387.

On December 23, Dr. Lake reported the rumor that the king had been dissuaded from making an appointment while the parliament was in session, because of the great popularity of Compton with its members and in the city, and should the members of parliament request Compton's appointment, "they had their dilatory answers ready."¹⁰ It is likely that the opposition of the duke was the principal factor which brought about the decision to pass Compton by, but at the same time the king would not appoint Crew of Durham, the duke's candidate, for Crew was too completely dominated by him.¹¹ A compromise was arrived at in the nomination of William Sancroft, the dean of St. Paul's, who, being a softspoken and deeply spiritual man, much given to study, was not expected to be active or troublesome.¹²

A mystery about the private life of Compton is connected with the elevation of Sancroft to Canterbury. Sancroft was unmarried, as had been most of the occupants of the chair of St. Augustine, and the conclusion has been reached by some, basing their statements on the *Memoirs of James II*, that Compton had a wife at this time.¹³ But no record has been found of his marriage, and it is strange that no other contemporary reference to his supposed marriage state is to be found. And there is evidence to the contrary. A certain Samuel Speed, who was in debtor's prison, appended a "Panegyrick" to Compton to a book of poetry which he had written, and though the flattery in the piece is not to be relied upon for an honest estimate of Compton's character, still we must take notice when he ends it this way:

May thy bright Fame outshine the Morning Star,
As Prince, a Prelate, and a Batchelar.¹⁴

Certainly Speed, who wanted help to get out of prison, had nothing to gain by thus describing Compton, unless he really was unmarried.

Again, in 1691, when Tillotson was made archbishop in preference to Compton, rumor had it that Compton was to be consoled by marriage with Carmarthen's daughter.¹⁵ It is, then, likely that he was not married in 1677, and most certainly not in 1691; and so it seems safe to con-

¹⁰Lake, *Diary*, 16, 17.

¹¹Browning, *Danby*, I, 204.

¹²For additional reasons for his selection, see Lake, *Diary*, 18, 19.

¹³Keith, *Compton*, 11.

¹⁴Samuel Speed, *Prisoner-Pietie* (London, 1677), 191. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives no other meaning to the word, a misspelling of "batchelor," that could possibly be used of Compton without offense, than "unmarried." He had never been knighted; to call him "batchelar" in an academic sense would be to slight his senior degrees.

¹⁵Robt. Harley to Sir E. Harley, June 9, 1691, *H.M.C. Rpt.*, Portland MSS, III, 467.

clude that if he was ever married, his wife died before he came into prominence.

With the explosion caused by the exposure of the Popish Plot, Compton's leadership was invaluable in London. He achieved his objective in ridding the court of Coleman and neutralizing the influence of the duke of York, but seems not to have gone to the extremes of frenzy reached by so many, no doubt checked by the arrest of so many men who seemed to him innocent. In particular, he flew to the assistance of his friend Danby when he was arrested. His change is revealed in two letters written to the duke of Ormond less than two months apart:

The Bishop of London is struck in close counsels with the Earl of Shaftesbury, who is like to be at the top, and already courted by all accordingly.

But in the second letter:

and now, of late, in all things concerning the Lord Treasurer, the Bishop of London hath forsaken Shaftesbury.¹⁶

A search of the manuscript of the House of Lords for the period the Popish Plot excitement has revealed no mention of any activity of the bishop of London after the part he took in examining Coleman's papers, and this work was done as a committee assignment of the upper house. On May 10, 1679, when the bishops were voting to defend Danby, Southwell wrote Ormond:

But how uncertain are all human affairs, when but a while since the people would cry in the streets, "Make room for a Protestant Bishop" when my Lord of London was to pass by, and now they asperse even his Lordship with Popery.¹⁷

If Compton was determined to defeat the intrigues of the Romanists, he was at the same time anxious to assist those who conformed to the established Church. Overton says, "He was a great patron of converts from Popery. . . ."¹⁸

There is nothing to show what he thought of Titus Oates, or of the extravagant charges he and his ilk hurled at prominent people. He gathered his clergy for frequent conferences, and steadied them in their work. The first edition of his *Letters to the Clergy*, later collected as

¹⁶Robt. Southwell to the Duke of Ormond, Nov. 9 and Dec. 31, 1678, *H.M.C. Rpt., Ormonde MSS*, New Series, IV, 470, 496.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, May 10, 1679, p. 510.

¹⁸Overton, *English Church*, 66.

Episcopalia,¹⁹ was printed in 1679, perhaps to show to a larger public that his standpoint was that of the Church of England.

In the House of Lords, he voted against the bill to exclude the duke of York from the succession to the throne,²⁰ though he had previously voted to exclude him from all state affairs during his brother's reign,²¹ and in favor of making the test abjuring transubstantiation bear the same penalty as the other parts of the oath.²² When Buckingham was released from the Tower and readmitted to the royal favor, Compton preached before the king on "The dangers of ill conversation, or showing any degree of countenance or delight on those who were under marks or blemishes of evil life."²³

Some time before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Louis XIV began to persecute the French Protestants, and a great number of them began taking refuge in England. Charles II was moved to assist them, and authorized the bishop of London to publish an appeal for a subscription for the purpose.²⁴ Compton became their steadfast friend. He wrote a number of letters to the English ambassador to France in their interest.²⁵ Compton urged the Huguenots in England to conform to the Church of England, and wrote to Protestant leaders abroad in a successful effort to secure their backing for his advice.

The building of St. Paul's Cathedral was a costly undertaking. Beside the voluntary contributions which the bishop and king urged upon the people, various expedients were tried to find public money for it. A portion of the Greenwax tax was to go to the building of the cathedral. Estates confiscated to the crown could be used for any purpose, and certain fines imposed in the courts were at the disposal of the king. There are a number of documents in the *Calendar of Treasury Books* which reveal Compton's search for these resources for cathedral funds.²⁶

But his zeal for the building fund was tempered with mercy. In one instance, a heavy fine was assessed for fraud, and the king con-

¹⁹Henry Compton, *Episcopalia, or Letters of the Right Reverend Father in God Henry, Lord Bishop of London, to the Clergy of His Diocese* (London, 1686).

²⁰Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 443.

²¹Browning, *Danby*, I, 297-8.

²²*Ibid.*, III, 128.

²³*Ibid.*, I, 264.

²⁴Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (6 vols., Oxford, 1857), I, 112.

²⁵See especially *H.M.C. Rpt., Graham MSS., passim*, for Compton's correspondence with Lord Preston, the English ambassador. Preston seemed fond of Compton, and anxious to assist in his attempts to help the French Protestants.

²⁶*Calendar of Treasury Books*, V, Pt. I, June 14, 1676, Doc. 242-3; Nov. 21, 1676, Doc. 480, Jan. 24, 1676/7, Doc. 522; Dec. 20, 1677, Doc. 823; Pt. II, May 14, 1678, Doc. 993.

sented that it should go to the cathedral fund, but when the defrauded man, who had prosecuted, represented his desperate circumstances to Compton, he secured the king's permission to turn the fine over to him.²⁷ Compton himself secured a judgment amounting to £2000 against one of his clergy, Edward Hickeringill, for a scandalous attack upon him.²⁸ The bishop determined to give the money to St. Paul's, but Hickeringill apologized, and Compton remitted the judgment.

In one instance, Compton was accused of avarice:

There coming a letter with my packet since my Lord Lanesborough's death addressed to him, I opened it, and it proved to be from his son, in which this passage, "My Lord of London has left no means unattempted to prevail not only about your pension, but also to obtain what your Lordship was made by me formerly to expect, and had succeeded, but that my Lord of Ormond opposed it, without whose being passive, it was impossible to be done." If his father had not been dead before, this would have killed him immediately, and made him die unsatisfied. . . .²⁹

This charge looks bad, but the likelihood is that Compton was seeking funds for his cathedral or his charities, for we learn from another letter that Lanesborough was in trouble over money for army provisioning, which the bishop was seeking to recover, no doubt for Church purposes.³⁰

In the last illness of Charles II, Compton was called, along with the other bishops who were in town. Burnet says:

The Bishop of London spoke a little to him, to dispose him to prepare for whatever might be before him; to which the King answered not a word. But that was imputed partly to the Bishop's cold way of speaking, and partly to the ill opinion they had of him at Court, as too busy in opposition to Popery.³¹

Sancroft and Ken, however, had no more success, and the king had always liked them, as indeed he is not known to have disliked Compton. The truth would seem to be that the crypto-Romanist king was depending on his brother to secure him a Roman priest, which he did very cleverly.

²⁷Treasury reference to Philip Burton, petition of Seth Garrett to the king, *ibid.*, VII, Pt. I, Jan. 14, 1681/2, Doc. 365.

²⁸Luttrell, *Relation*, I, 170.

²⁹Earl of Arran to Duke of Ormond, Dec. 19, 1683, *H.M.C. Rpt., Ormonde MSS.*, New Series, VIII, 170.

³⁰Ormond to Capt. G. Mathew, Nov. 21, 1685, in *ibid.*, 394.

³¹Burnet, *His Own Time*, I, 606-7.

CHAPTER III

In the Reign of James II

WHEN James II came to the throne, Compton was certain to be in trouble. But the bishop began in a conciliatory manner. He waited on the king, accompanied by his clergy, and assured him of their loyalty. There is no evidence that Compton gave any countenance to the intrigues of Monmouth in the last reign, or to his rebellion in this. When James re-issued the directions to preachers of 1662, along with a letter asking that the clergy desist from controversial subjects, Compton was inclined to cooperate, though his words betray some scepticism regarding the king's intent. He said the clergy should be "as cautious of flattering our Prince into tyranny as of stirring up the people to sedition and tumult."¹

On the approach of the parliamentary election, the bishop wrote to Strype, the historian, who was one of the rural deans of the diocese, to ask him to use his influence to secure the election of "such sober and prudent men as will seek the peace of the Church and the State by promoting the King's and the kingdom's service. . . ."² Compton saw nothing to be gained by an assault upon James, thinking there was a chance he might keep his promise to hold his religion as a private matter.

When Monmouth's rebellion was put down, James, in the speech from the throne, expressed his intention of dispensing with the Test Act. Browning says that Compton "with all his brethren" was associated with Danby, Halifax, Nottingham, and Bridgewater in planning opposition in the upper house.³

Devonshire's motion to take the royal speech into consideration was supported . . . most of all in a speech of extreme significance from . . . Bishop Compton, highest of the Tories and once tutor to the Princesses Mary and Anne. The Bishop "spoke long, calmly, with great respect and deference to his Majesty, yet very full and home"; in speaking in the name of all his brethren—"at which they all rose up"—he declared

¹"The Bishop of London's Seventh Letter of Conference with his Clergy," quoted in *Victoria County History of London*, I, ed. Wm. Page (London, 1909), 346.

²F. C. Turner, *James II* (New York, 1948), 255.

³Browning, *Danby*, I, 373.

the Test Act the only and necessary dyke against the flood of popery.⁴

For this the king showed his displeasure, as soon as parliament had been prorogued, by striking Compton from the list of the privy councillors,⁵ and removing him from the deanship of the Chapel Royal.⁶

Worse was to come. On March 16, 1686, the king ordered the archbishops to prohibit sermons on controversial topics. Dr. John Sharp, dean of Norwich and rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields in the diocese of London, preached in the latter church against Romanism,⁷ and was reported to the king to have reflected against him and his friends. Compton was peremptorily ordered to inhibit Sharp from preaching in London, and he did talk to him, but took no judicial action. Meanwhile James, on his own authority, set up again the prerogative Court of High Commission, which had caused his father so much trouble. Compton was cited to appear before it. A contemporary letter relates what occurred there:

On Monday the Bishop of London appeared before the commissioners, and behaved himself with great modesty, temper, and submission, yet with courage enough, too. His charge was for not obeying the King in suspending Dr. Sharpe. He answered that he thought that he could not do it without first calling him to an account for his sermon, and so proceeding against him judicially, but if he were mistaken he humbly craved pardon, and did profess it was out of ignorance, and not contempt of the King's command. He asked for a copy of the Commission and of the articles against him in writing. The Lord Chancellor denied both, and as to the Commission said it was made public enough by the broad seal; and said if he had been so desirous of a copy for a penny it might have been had at any coffee house. Some say my Lord said he did not use to go thither. As to the articles he said it was not the fashion of proceeding in this commission, which was to serve the King presently; the answer was to be *raptim expedite et ore tenus*, therefore he required my Lord of London to answer directly to a plain question, why he did not obey the King's command. The Bishop desired that he might have time till toward the next term to advise and consult those that were better able to direct him in his defense, as thinking it a matter

⁴Feiling, *Tory Party*, 211. The words he quotes are to be found in the *Autobiography of Sir John Bramston*, Camden Society Publications, Old Series XXXII (London, 1845), 116-7.

⁵*Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. Andrew Browning (Glasgow, 1936), 404-5.

⁶Bramston, *Autobiography*, 217.

⁷Turner, *James II*, 316; Evelyn, *Diary*, II, 268.

of law.—They gave him a week.—He asked if there were an appeal.—My Lord said what they should do they should not be ashamed to own in any other court. Canterbury has not appeared, which is taken ill.

Aug. 15. As to the commission, the eyes of the nation are fixed. Canterbury has got immortal fame by not appearing.

Aug. 17. . . . My Lord of London is still on his legs. On Monday he appeared and said he had used all diligence to find out where to have a copy of the commission, which he had not till Sunday, and to find council, but so many being out of town he could not. The Lord Chancellor was very gentle and easy to him, but said if he went about to get the Commission only to take exception to the jurisdiction of the court, neither he nor anyone else should have time granted on that account; but if on any other account he should be as willing to serve him as anybody, and asked what time he would require. He said a fortnight. The Lord Chancellor and the rest granted it, namely, Tuesday, fortnight, at 11.—Some spread reports as if there were other matters against him, as incontinency. . . .

Sept. 2. A paper. Account of the Bishop of London before the Commissioners.—He excepted to the jurisdiction, and was overruled. He pleaded that he ought to have been judged by his metropolitan, which was overruled. The King's letter was read, and the Bishop's answer to Lord Sunderland.—His counsel were Dr. Hodges, Oldish, Newton, and Brice.—They said he had showed Sharp the King's letter, and had forbidden him to preach.—He could not suspend Sharp, except on process. Sedition being charged against Sharp, he (the bishop) could not meddle with it. . . . He was ordered to attend next Monday at 10 o'clock.⁸

In the manuscripts of the earl of Verulam there is a full account of the proceedings, evidently a part of the chancery records and rolls preserved by Sir Harbottle Grimston, master of the Rolls. It notes that Compton was accompanied on his second appearance by "his nephew, the Earl of Northampton, his brother, Sir Francis Compton, Sir John Nicholas, etc. . . ." Full pleas and arguments of counsel are given.⁹ An acquittal seemed assured, since of the five commissioners acting, only Bishop Crew of Durham and Jeffries were against him. But Burnet reports that the king put pressure on the earl of Rochester, threatening him with the loss of his office as lord treasurer, and thus secured through him a majority of three to two in favor of suspending

⁸H. Paman to Sir R. Verney, *H.M.C. 7th Rpt.*, 503.

⁹*H.M.C. Rpt., Verulam MSS*, 87-95.

Compton,¹⁰ which was done on September 6, 1686. The bishops of Rochester, Durham and Peterborough were appointed to administer the affairs of his see. His temporalities were not disturbed, since action in the regular courts would have been necessary to sequester his freehold, and there the king could not anticipate success.¹¹

The bishop retired to Fulham Palace, and indulged his hobby of botany, in which he had long been interested.¹² In 1677 there is an order in the Treasury Books under the Royal Sign Manual for:

216£ to Henry, bp. of London, without accomp: to be by him paid over to Robt. Morison, Dr. in Physick and the King's Botanic Professor, to encourage him in the printing of a new herbal, which we are informed he hath written and prepared at his great costs and labor.¹³

There are other entries in subsequent years for this sum to be paid through Compton to Morison. Likely Compton met him at Oxford, and brought him to the attention of the king; perhaps it was through him that Compton gained his interest in these studies. Compton collected exotic plants.

His interest in his diocese did not abate, however, nor his influence, for Burnet tells us:

His clergy, for all the suspension, were really more governed by the secret intimations of his pleasure than they had been by his authority before.¹⁴

In six months, Compton went through the formality of petitioning for restoration to his functions, for he could otherwise have been declared contumacious, and deprived; but since he acknowledged no wrongdoing, his suspension was simply kept in force.¹⁵

The Princess of Orange remonstrated with her father by letter because of his treatment of her old tutor and friend.¹⁶ She drew a reply which Miss Strickland quotes from an extract of Dr. Birch's:

The King expresses his surprise to find her so ill-informed of the bishop of London's behaviour, both to the late king, and to him, both as duke and king, as to write to him in his favour,

¹⁰Burnet, *His Own Time*, I, 677.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²On his interest in this study, see Chas. Hatton to Lord Hatton, July 4, 1688, *Hatton Correspondence*, II, 86-7.

¹³*Calendar of Treasury Books, 1676-79*, Sept. 22, 1677, Doc. 751.

¹⁴Burnet, *His Own Time*, I, 677.

¹⁵Keith, *Compton*, 17.

¹⁶Burnet, *His Own Time*, I, 677.

that the bishop deserved no favour from him, and was far from having the *true* church of England principle.¹⁷

The king's ventures to influence his daughter were not successful. A grave view was taken in England and in Holland of Compton's treatment, since it served as an omen of things to come; it began to be clear that the constant warnings Compton had given had not been mistaken, however much he had seemed to be too zealous in his opposition to Romanism.

The suspended bishop was early in consultation to frustrate the designs of the king. He worked with his clergy to keep up their spirits, and may have, as Burnet supposes, urged on them the correspondence with English dissenters in Holland, which helped secure the cooperation of English dissenters and which made the Revolution possible.¹⁸ Compton was in touch with Dykevelt, Prince William's agent in England, and gave his engagement to endeavor to bring his clergy into agreement with a constitutional change for the protection of liberty in Church and state to be effected by William's intervention.¹⁹ The bishop was a member of the revolutionary committee which met regularly at the house of the earl of Shrewsbury, beginning in June of 1688, having been invited to it by the earl of Danby.²⁰

When the king put forth the Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered the bishops to have it read in the churches, Compton met with his colleagues at Lambeth, and though unable to accompany them to the king nor sign their protest, gave them his encouragement and support.²¹

On June 30 of that year, the date of the acquittal of the seven bishops, Compton was one of another famous seven, the lords who signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange to intervene in English affairs.²² He was the only one of the spiritual lords to be invited to sign. In the declaration put forth by Prince William, the mistreatment meted out to the bishop of London formed the seventh article.²³

When the king finally took alarm at the preparation for William's invasion, one of the first steps he took in order to mollify the discontent of the people was to lift Compton's suspension. This event took place September 28, 1688, and it would seem to argue much for the

¹⁷Strickland, *Lives of the Queens*, X, 252.

¹⁸Keith, *Compton*, 17.

¹⁹Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 445.

²⁰Browning, *Danby*, I, 384.

²¹Earl of Clarendon to Princess of Orange, May 21, 1688, *H.M.C.*, *Rpt.*, *Buckingham Whitehall MSS*, II, 31-2.

²²Keith, *Compton*, 18.

²³Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 445.

popularity of Compton. This alone would not satisfy the bishops, however, and within a few days Compton accompanied others of his colleagues to wait on the king in protest against the invasion of Magdalen College by Roman Catholics, and the ejection of its members in their favor.²⁴ They protested the erection of the court of high commission as well, and the long-standing vacancy of the archbishopric of York.

Some time later a copy of the declaration of the Prince of Orange came into the king's hands. He noted the claim that William was invited by "peers both spiritual and temporal," and wanted to know what spiritual peers had signed the invitation. Of course the most active opponent of his religion among the bishops was suspect. Compton was called in for questioning. He is reported to have answered, "I am quite confident that there is not one of my brethren who is not as guiltless as myself in this matter." The next day, the other bishops who were in London were called, and, on being asked, denied their guilt. Compton told the king at this time, "I gave you my answer yesterday."

Lord Macaulay has blamed him for the evasion to which he resorted.²⁵ This point is a fine one in practical ethics, and the Caroline divines of the English Church were wise enough to know that decisions in matters of conduct do not often present themselves in straightforward blacks and whites: one has to choose the lesser of the evils. In this instance an open confession of guilt meant arrest for high treason, and execution. If the cause he had in hand meant anything, and his leadership in it could contribute to its success, then his evasion would seem justified. One is moved to admire his composure and presence of mind, even should he share Macaulay's judgment.²⁶

²⁴Dr. Sam'l Freeman to Lord Hatton, Sept. 8, 1687, *Hatton Correspondence*, II, 71-2. See also, Bramston, *Autobiography*, 320.

²⁵Thomas Babington Macaulay, *A History of England from the Accession of James II* (2 vols., New York, 1849), II, 440-1. He gives no source for the dialogue between the king and the bishop.

²⁶Bramston gives an entirely different account of the king's inquiry. The king gathered them together, and demanded that they express abhorrence for the prince's declaration, but would neither have the declaration read to them nor show it. To a man, they refused to express themselves about a document which they had not seen or heard.—*Autobiography*, 331.

CHAPTER IV

Colonel Compton

SHORTLY after Compton was questioned by the king, he found it a good time to visit his sister in the North. As this visit came about the same time as the conferences being held by Danby and other leaders of the Revolution in the North country in preparation for William's landing, it is practically certain that Compton took part in them.¹

He was back in London when the prince landed, but was naturally not to be found at Fulham Palace. He left word of his whereabouts for the Princess Anne, however, in the event she should need his assistance. She sent to arrange her escape from the city when she learned that her husband, Prince George of Denmark, had gone over to William. Compton called for her and her party in a hackney coach, and took them to his dwelling until just before dawn, in company with the earl of Dorset. They then proceeded to Dorset's place at Copthall, and, after a short rest, to Nottingham. Here a considerable escort was formed. The bishop put on army uniform, and was armed. The force formed itself into a regiment, and elected him its colonel. In what may have been the unwise move of his public life, he accepted the election, and later caused considerable amazement when the force entered Oxford, led by his lordship of London with drawn sword.²

Burnet said: "a small army was formed about the Princess Anne, who chose to be commanded by the Bp. of London, of which he too easily accepted," to which Jonathan Swift replied in his notes on Burnet's *History of His Own Time*: "And why should he not?"³ Several of Compton's colleagues had been soldiers. Only a short time before Peter Mews, then bishop of Exeter, had commanded the royal artillery at the Battle of Sedgemoor against Monmouth, and caused no particular stir by doing it.⁴ It was, nevertheless, a lapse from proper clerical behavior, and must be reckoned a mistake.

¹Browning, *Danby*, I, 390.

²*Memoirs of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, Together With Her Contemporaries and Her Opinions*, ed. William King (London, 1930), 12, 13; John Horton to Lord Hatton, 2 Dec., 1688, *Hatton Correspondence*, II, 118.

³*Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Sir Walter Scott (2nd ed., 19 vols., London, 1883), XII, 212.

⁴Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the 18th Century* (Cambridge, 1934), 77.

At Nottingham the force was joined by Philip Stanhope, the earl of Chesterfield,⁵ whose extraordinary account of the succeeding events is quoted from his *Memoirs* by Miss Strickland. He said that, at the Princess Anne's bidding, the bishop of London had drawn up an association whose signers pledged themselves "to kill all the papists in England, in case the Prince of Orange should be killed or murdered by any one of them," and that he, Lord Ferrers, Lord Cullen, and above a hundred gentlemen refused to sign it, to the great annoyances of the princess.⁶

What is the value of this evidence? There is confirmation for some sort of an association having been drawn up about this time. Philip Musgrave wrote from London to Lord Dartmouth about the coming of the prince, and gives as his opinion that anyone to be kept in employment until the convention of January 22 must sign the association, and says that all bishops save London have refused to sign the articles of association.⁷ But a different light is thrown on its nature by the entry of Luttrell:

Letters coming from the West say that gentlemen that come into the prince sign the association to stand by him in defense of the protestant religion and liberties of the nation.⁸

This document, of course, would not necessarily be the same one offered to the protectors of Anne at Nottingham, if one was drawn up there.

Several factors need to be noted in attempting to evaluate Chesterfield's evidence. First, there should have been a flood of protests from the numerous gentlemen who, he alleges, refused to sign, if any such murderous document had been offered them; yet they have not come to light. Secondly, Anne was apprehensive for her own safety,⁹ and perhaps for her position in the state in that troubled time; if the supposed document were drawn according to her ideas, it would more likely consist of a pledge to protect her interests. Then, in the third place, if Compton had been in consultation with Danby and other lead-

⁵The Rev. Theophilus Brooks to the Seventh Earl of Huntington, Dec. 19, 1688, *H.M.C., Rpt., Hastings MSS*, II, 211.

⁶Strickland, *Queens of England*, X, 304. She gives as her reference the *Memoirs*, "from his autograph papers, found in the library at Bath House, published with his letters, 48-50"; G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, III, 181, makes the same reference.

⁷Philip Musgrave to Ld. Dartmouth, Dec. 26, 1688, *H.M.C. Rpts., Dartmouth MSS*, III, 143.

⁸Luttrell, *Relation*, I, 479. Bramston said there were many rumors about the association, but he believed it was for the preservation of the Protestant religion. *Autobiography*, 338.

⁹Marlborough, *Memoirs, Duchess of Marlborough*, 12, 13.

ers in the North, the association might have pertained to an effort to stand out alone there with the princess as their ruler, in case the invasion of William were defeated. It seems least likely of all that a blood covenant to protect the Prince of Orange from assassination would have originated in Anne's camp, when as yet she and the prince were not in contact.

Then, as to the character of Chesterfield, we have an agreement between two contemporaries, whose opinions did not often concur. Swift, underlining Burnet's *Court of Queen Anne* with his own comments, wrote underneath the entry, "the Earl of Chesterfield," which read thus

He is very subtle and cunning, never entered into the measures of King William, nor ever will, in all probability, make any great appearance in any other reign. . . .

this comment: "If it be old Chesterfield, I have heard he was the greatest knave in England."¹⁰

The final bit of evidence comes in a letter of Humphrey Prideaux in 1696, in which he discusses an association proposed at Norwich, after the disclosure of the plot to assassinate the king in that year, to go beyond that subscribed through the country:

For they declared that they meant thereby that, in case the King was kild, they would draw their swords and cut ye throats of all ye Jacobites. . . .¹¹

Now it seems likely that Chesterfield's memory could have been at fault, especially if he was writing in his old age; he remembered some sort of association at the time of the Revolution, and may have been asked in 1696 to sign just such a bloody one as Prideaux describes, and thought he was tendered the latter in 1688.

The princess and her escort moved on to Oxford. Danby wrote from York to urge Compton and Devon to bring her to York, if she agreed, but William forestalled this move by ordering them to bring Anne to meet him.¹² He wished to join the two cavalry forces.¹³ Compton wrote to Danby about the change of plans, and the letter reveals something of their close relations: ". . . I am sorry for it [i. e., the change of plans] with all my heart, for then I could have unburdened myself to you."¹⁴

¹⁰Swift, *Works*, XII, 231.

¹¹Prideaux to John Ellis, April 15, 1696, *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux*, 169.

¹²Browning, *Danby*, II, 148.

¹³*Ibid.*, 151.

¹⁴Compton to Danby, Dec. 5, 1688, Browning *Danby*, II, 151n.

It is possible Compton's conscience was bothering him about his soldiering, and he was beginning to feel that he should have left the business of regimental command to another, and gone along as chaplain and advisor. Or some awkward situations conceivably had arisen, with the irrepressible Lady Churchill in the company. Fortunately, Compton's regiment did not have the slightest skirmish, and he returned to London to take up his duties again.

CHAPTER V

A Decade of Disappointments



ON December 21st, 1688, Compton and his clergy waited on William at St. James Palace;¹ on the 24th, the Council of Peers met, on the day of the escape of James II. Lord Paget made the proposal that Mary be immediately claimed queen; "And this proposal had been immediately seconded by Lord North and (significantly perhaps,) by the Bishop of London."² Compton could not have known how unacceptable this plan was to William, but his advocacy of this solution may have cost him dearly. On December 29th, Compton administered the Holy Communion to Prince William.³ This event is of some significance, for William was a Dutch Calvinist, and, according to the Test Act, before he could hold any position in England, he must qualify as a communicant. Since the archbishop was holding aloof from William, Compton's position was peculiarly fitted for bringing the prince into the Anglican orbit.

When the convention met, and the question of the disposition of the throne was before the House of Lords, Compton stood with Danby in the middle position; against the high Tories, they opposed the regency scheme.⁴ Both men were too realistic to believe that such a device would be successful, yet they opposed the Whig move of the House of Commons which would declare the throne vacant, and thus admit that the crown was not hereditary.⁵ In the end, when it became necessary for the Lords to surrender to the Commons, and vote the throne to William and Mary jointly, Compton and Sir Jonathan Trelawney, the bishop of Bristol, were the only ones on the episcopal bench so to vote.⁶

While the convention was wrestling with the problem of the throne, the bishop of London instructed his clergy to omit the prayer for the

¹Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 445.

²Browning, *Danby*, I, 472. Browning appears to mean that Compton was speaking Danby's mind. While they were quite likely in agreement, the inference that Compton was merely voicing Danby's thinking is not justified.

³Richard Lapthorne to Richard Coffin, Dec. 29, 1688, *5th Rpt.*, *H.M.C.*, 379.

⁴Browning, *Danby*, I, 427n.

⁵*Ibid.*, 428.

⁶Robt. Harley to Sir E. Harley, Jan. 29, 1688/9, *H.M.C. Rpt.*, *Portland MSS.*, III, 425. Trelawney felt it necessary to clear himself from the imputation that he cast his vote in the hope of securing preferment. He showed that King James had issued his nomination before the invasion. *1st Rpt.*, *H.M.C.*, 52.

prince of Wales from the liturgy, and use the prayer for the king without naming the king.⁷

William and Mary were proclaimed on February 13, 1689, and on the 14th Compton was sworn of the privy council again.⁸ He was restored to the deanship of the Chapel Royal on the same day.⁹

Archbishop Sancroft was having nothing to do with the new régime, since he was caught in the web of his doctrine of nonresistance to the sovereign. Since it was necessary to consecrate Gilbert Burnet to be bishop of Salisbury, Sancroft authorized Compton to act in his place as chief consecrator. Thus it was Compton who took the principal part in making the loquacious Scot a bishop, on March 31, 1689.¹⁰ A larger role in the archbishop's stead awaited him: On April 11, he crowned William and Mary.¹¹

Meanwhile, in the convention Parliament, William was seeking to make good his promises to the dissenters in the toleration and comprehension bills. Compton supported them both. In a letter to the archbishop, he said:

We are now entering upon ye Bill of Comprehension, wh. will be followed by ye Bill of Toleration. These are two great works in which ye being of our Church is concerned, and I hope you will send to ye house for copies. For tho' we are under a conquest, God has given us favour, in ye eies of our Rulers; and we may keep up the Church, if we will . . .¹²

Compton was obviously trying to coax the archbishop to take an active part in supporting these measures, which no doubt owed something to his pen. John E. Baur says:

The great Comprehension Bill of 1689 stemmed from the attempt of the nonjuring bishops in 1688 to formulate a Presbyterian comprehension which would make use of the sign of the Cross in Baptism optional, and permit the taking of the Holy Communion while seated.¹³

⁷Lec, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 446.

⁸Luttrell, *Relation*, I, 502.

⁹Lec, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 446.

¹⁰Keith, *Compton*, 19.

¹¹Reresby, *Memoirs*, 572.

¹²H. London to Sancroft, [n.d.], Tanner MS, xxvii, f. 41, in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, I, 90-1.

¹³John E. Baur, "English Protestant Attempts at Reunion, 1599-1710," in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XVIII, No. 4. (December, 1949), 450. Baur cites as his authority, Gilbert Burnet, *The Ill Effects of Animosities Amongst Protestants* (London, 1688).

This view of the matter is certainly more correct than the commonly received one that the effort toward comprehension was led by the Low Church Latitudinarians. The truth would seem to be that Sancroft and the other bishops had made an agreement with moderate dissenting leaders to move such a measure, if the dissenters would work with them in resisting the efforts of James II to break down the Test Act. What Compton's part in this matter was is not known.

An interesting feature of Compton's letter quoted is its reference to a "conquest." This reference was undoubtedly meant for the archbishop alone, and was intended to suggest to him that the situation called for him to accept the new order with the best grace he could muster, salving his conscience with the consideration that a Dutch army was in England, and a *de facto* government in power. It thus appears that Compton was genuinely anxious to retain Sancroft and his fellows. There may be, too, some indication that Compton was really disappointed that Mary did not reign alone. But it is well that his letter did not come within view of the throne, for a treatise by Burnet justifying the revolution on the basis of conquest was burned by the public hangman three years later, and Burnet's credit at court curtailed.¹⁴

The toleration bill was passed, but Parliament referred the matter of comprehension to Convocation. Meanwhile, in August, Sancroft had been suspended,¹⁵ and the bishop of London found himself once again one of the commissioners appointed to administer the affairs of the archbishopric. When Convocation met, he was elected president of the upper house. He served on a committee for the revision of the liturgy, a necessary step if comprehension was to be accomplished. The view of one layman is interesting:

The king wrote a gracious letter to the Convocation . . . and sent them a commission with power to alter the Liturgy, and to enquire into the Ecclesiastical courts and Commons and to make provision for the punishment of immoralities in the clergy and the people. There was a great division in the Convocation; Dr. Jeane was chosen Prolocutor, who is of the party not to alter anything in the Common Prayer; they are most of that mind, to the great grief of Dr. Burnet, now Bishop of Salisbury, and the Bishop of St. Asaph and some other few London ministers, and the Bishop of that See I should have said first, who are very zealous for an alteration, though when they have done all they can, it is believed it will not bring over

¹⁴Art. "Gilbert Burnet." *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., IV, 852.

¹⁵He was deprived in Feb., 1690/1.

one Dissenter, but lay open the Church to the censure of mutability.¹⁶

Another letter gives about the same viewpoint:

The Commissioners for ecclesiastical matters had prepared several alterations in the Common Prayer. . . . But after all, since the moderate men have not been able to carry it for Dr. Tennison to be Prolocutor, and the number of Dr. Jane's party being to greatly disproportionable, it inclines to believe that no great matter will be done by the Convocation. Tho' my Lord of London, good man, made a learned speech upon the topic of uniting; and put 'em in mind of the due temper that was talked so much about; but Dr. Jane and Aldredge of Christ Church harang'd so mightily about the beauty of the present settlement of religion . . .¹⁷

Since most of the changes proposed were adopted in the Prayer Book of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States just a century later, they could not have been so radical as commonly supposed.¹⁸

In 1690, the question of an oath abjuring James II was before the Lords. Compton wished to save the nonjurors for the Church, and argued against the imposition of the oath.

He spoke at great length, and amused the house by stating that although there were obvious objections to multiplying oaths, . . . he did not speak for himself. "There was not nor could be made an oath to the present government that he would not take."¹⁹

In the same year, William found the Whigs impossible to deal with, and had to turn to the Tories. Compton was asked for a list of moderate Tories for appointment as deputy lieutenants in London. He gave in a list of men characterized by Burnet (whether justly or not) as "the most violent Tories. . . ."²⁰ Compton was now made one of the commissioners of Trade and Plantations, because of his interest in the colonial churches, and his services to them. In January 1690/1, the bishop, at his own expense, accompanied the king and Nottingham

¹⁶Rupert Browne to Sir Wm. Trumbull, Dec. 26, 1689, *H.M.C. Rpt., Downshire MSS*, I, 328. Browne means Dr. Jane for Dr. Jeane.

¹⁷Writer and addressee unknown, 1689, *7th Rpt., H.M.C.*, 759. It was Tillotson who was the unsuccessful candidate for prolocutor.

¹⁸William Muss-Arnolt, "Post-Caroline Revision Attempts," *Proceedings of the Church Historical Society* (Philadelphia, 1915), Pt. I, 1-28; Edward Lambc Parsons and Bayard H. Jones, *The American Prayer Book* (New York, 1946), 46-8, 50-1.

¹⁹Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 446.

²⁰Burnet, *His Own Time*, II, 40.

to the Hague, remaining until the close of March, and assisting in forming alliances against the French.²¹

In view of Compton's great services to William and Mary, it must have been almost unbelievable news to learn that they had nominated Tillotson to the primacy instead of him. When Sancroft had been chosen over him, he was doubtless disappointed, but he had, after all, been a bishop but a short time, and in the ministry not too long; moreover, he knew he had been strongly opposed by the duke of York. But now, after fifteen years of service in the episcopate, in which he had reached the very forefront of the leadership of the Church, turned to as spokesman by the whole bench of bishops on several occasions, and now serving rulers who in some measure owed their throne to him, Compton had every right to expect to be promoted. Why was he passed by? The situation is complex, and no certain answer seems possible.

In the first place, Tillotson was an old friend to both William and Mary. He had entertained them at Canterbury when they were waiting for a favorable wind for Holland soon after their marriage.²² Then William probably thought he was more certainly favorable toward comprehension than Compton. This would be especially true if Tillotson's letter to the king, telling him

that the Bishop of London was at the bottom of the storm raised in the Convocation, being jealous lest he (Tillotson) would be a hindrance to his (Compton's) attaining what he wanted . . . ,²³

was written before or after the nomination for Canterbury was made. It seems hardly likely that the charge could have been true in either event, but color might have been lent to it by the fact that many people, perhaps including the bishop of London, suspected Tillotson's orthodoxy, and the additional fact that Dr. Jane, the successful candidate for prolocutor, had once been Compton's chaplain.

An additional factor could very well have been that Compton had advocated tendering the throne to Mary alone, an intolerable idea to William. Then if by any chance rumor had reached the royal couple that Compton had sought to justify the revolution settlement to the nonjurors on the basis of a conquest, as he had done in his private letter to Sancroft, their displeasure would certainly have been aroused.

Miss Strickland had a simple solution. She said:

²¹Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D. N. B.*, XI, 446.

²²Strickland, *Queens of England*, X, 217.

²³Keith, *Compton*, 20.

Queen Mary was perplexed as to the person whom she could appoint to fill the archepiscopal seat of Canterbury. Her tutor, Compton bishop of London, had the ambition to desire this high appointment, but his extreme ignorance, his military education, and the perpetual blunders he made in his functions, would not permit such an advancement.²⁴

She adds a footnote:

With the idea of making his court, however, to the King for this purpose, bishop Compton had left his see, and accompanied him in his voyage to Holland.²⁵

Now this is something, but is it hardly history. Not even Burnet imputes "extreme ignorance" or "perpetual blunders in his functions" to Compton.

It is not, in fact, known why Tillotson was chosen and Compton rejected, but the blow fell, and Compton was not happy about it. By common report he showed his disappointment plainly.

It was generally believed that his failure to attend Tillotson's consecration, and again at his admission to the Privy Council was due to disgust.²⁶

This neglect soured him; he gradually alienated himself from the Whigs, and in the closing years of his life acted with the Tories.²⁷

It is interesting to learn from an American source that it was not disgust that kept Compton out of sight. The Rev. James Blair of Virginia had been sent to England to secure a charter for the College of William and Mary, and found

The Bishop of London was taken very sick, and for a month's time he was not able to stir abroad. . . . The Bishop of London was at this time under a great cloud and mighty unwilling to meddle in any court business, for notwithstanding his great merit from the present government, he had been passed by in all the later promotions, & the two archbishoprics had been bestowed upon two of his own clergy, viz.: Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Sharp, so yet notwithstanding the Bishop's great kindness to Virginia, yet I found he was not at this time in so fit circumstances to manage a business at court as we expected. . . .²⁸

²⁴Strickland, *Queens of England*, XI, 121, 2.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 122n.

²⁶Browning, *Danby*, I, 489n.

²⁷Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 446.

²⁸Commissary Blair to Governor Nicholson, London, Dec. 3, 1691, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, ed. Wm. Stevens Perry (4 vols., Hartford, 1870), I, 3-5.

It is to Tillotson's credit that he made the approach to Compton, and the two worked together to plan an access to the king to secure the necessary help for the college.²⁹ Compton was again taken ill during the business; Blair says, "taken again with a fit of the stone."³⁰ Thus, not fretting nor self-pity, but a genuine physical ailment kept Compton from public affairs, though he doubted, as well he might, since he was so clearly slighted, how effective his intervention might be in any matter. It was rumored about that the bishop was to be given the hand of Lady Plymouth, Carmarthen's daughter, in marriage, to console him for his loss.³¹ "There is a report that . . . the Bishop of London will marry Lady Plymouth, daughter to the Marquis of Carmarthen."³²

Compton was soon back to his labors for the home Church and those in the colonies. He learned to work with Tillotson and, after that primate's death in 1694, with Tenison, who succeeded him, for the social and missionary causes of the Church. He was a vigorous supporter of the societies for the reformation of manners in England, and one of the joint founders of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (the S.P.C.K., 1699) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S.P.G., 1701), both conceived and organized by Dr. Thomas Bray, his commissary for Maryland.³³ In 1694, at the death of Queen Mary, Compton presented William with "an address of condolence."³⁴ The next year, on December 6, he preached the Thanksgiving Day sermon in the new cathedral, not completed, but in use, in some sense a monument to his industry and generosity.

The committee for trades and plantations of the privy council, on which Compton had served for many years, was superseded by a "Council for Trade and Plantations," not connected with the privy council, on May 15, 1696.³⁵ Colonel Nicholson wrote from Virginia to the archbishop of Canterbury:

I think it a duty incumbent upon me as likewise to acquaint your Grace, I am apprehensive that many of the Council of

²⁹Commissary Blair to Governor Nicholson, London, Dec. 3, 1691, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, ed. Wm. Stevens Perry (4 vols., Hartford, 1870), I, 6.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 6.

³¹Browning, *Danby*, I, 489n.

³²Robt. Harley to Sir E. Harley, June 9, 1691, *H.M.C., Rpt. Portland MSS.*, III, 467.

³³Overton, *English Church*, 209, 216, 218.

³⁴Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 446.

³⁵*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1696-1697*, VIII, 1.

Trade, etc., at the least the major part of them, are no friends to the Church of England, neither is their secretary, for I have heard that he harboured Mr. Penn when the proclamations were out for him, & I suspect he hath a private and frequent correspondence with the sd. Penn. The Bp. of London's not being of the Council, as he was when it was a Committee of the Privy Council, nor any other Bp. being of it, it is much taken notice of in these parts of the world. . . .⁸⁶

This turn of events was not pleasing to Compton,⁸⁷ for he had been greatly helped in his oversight of the colonial churches by his membership on the former committee.

Thus in many ways the reign of William was one of disappointments for Compton, in which his abilities were used by the crown far less than they had been in the reign of Charles II.

⁸⁶Col. Nicholson to Abp. of Canterbury, July 3, 1700, Perry, *Historical Collections*, I, 122.

⁸⁷Bp. of L. to Mr. Popple, 16 Apr. 1700, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial 1700*, Doc. 328, p. 171.

CHAPTER VI

Tory and High Churchman under Queen Anne

WHEN Compton's spiritual child came to the throne as Queen Anne in 1702, he was high in her favor. He became her Lord Almoner,¹ and great measures for the encouragement and advance of the Church were carried through by Compton and the queen working together. Her benefactions to the Church were considerable, and in them the advice and encouragement given by Compton must have been great. With Archbishop John Sharp of York, who was likewise her close adviser in ecclesiastical affairs,² they strove to overcome some of the influence of the Whig and Low-Church bishops who had been appointed by William.³

The interests of Compton in advancing the Church were very wide. His work for the colonial Church, which will be treated in the next chapter, was greatly advanced in the reign of Queen Anne. His long-time interest in helping the Scottish Episcopal clergy may have been one of the factors which contributed to the decision to extend toleration to them in this reign. He was also interested in the welfare of the Church of Ireland, as is shown in a letter which he wrote to William King, the archbishop of Dublin:

The Bishop of London apprises Archbishop King that the great feuds between the Bishops and Clergy of Ireland make it difficult for the English to serve this Church; give great scandal, and much lessen the credit and interest of the Church of Ireland to the last degree.⁴

There is some indication that misunderstandings and irritations existed between Compton and the politicians of the reign. The continual use of patronage in the Church as a means of political fence-building or reward was bound to occasion collision with a bishop as conscientious as Henry Compton. Something of this sort probably lies behind this letter, written by Lord Godolphin to Robert Harley:

¹Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 446.

²William Thomas Morgan, *English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne, 1702-1710*, Yale Historical Publications, VII (New Haven, 1920), 160-1.

³William H. Hutton, *The English Church from the Accession of Charles I to the Death of Anne, 1625-1714* (London, 1903), 255.

⁴Compton to Abp. King, 1702, *2nd Rpt.*, *H.M.C.*, 234.

I am sorry the Bishop of London is so very refractory, it is certainly for the Queen's service to oblige the country and my Lord Chief Justice in giving this living to Clegatt, and the claim of the Bishop upon which he surprised the Queen into this promise is founded upon nothing but silly nonsense; but something or other must always hinder right things from being done. . . .⁵

Perhaps the letter which Compton had written to Robert Harley just the day before relates to this same incident; if so, his lordship was under the impression that he had lost the struggle, while Godolphin believed that he had won. The letter reads:

Your last has so amazed me that I know not well what to say to you. I am ready to lay down my life for her Majesty's case, but what can I do? Justice and honour constrain me still to implore the Queen's consideration. If it had been upon my own account I had obtained this promise from her, my own unworthiness might be a reasonable motive to have sunk quietly under the disappointment; but when the promise was obtained upon the just account of a retribution of a public service without the least regard to any private interest of my own, it is a bond too heavy for me to discharge. And therefore whatever her Majesty is pleased to lay upon me I must lie down and be crushed; though whilst I have my health I shall ever pray for her long life and prosperity, and bewail my own undeserved misfortune.

Postscript. Can any in common honesty, or a just regard to her Majesty, press her for that for which she has already passed her royal word?⁶

How early the bishop suspected that not all of Marlborough's dealings were above reproach has not been discovered, but there are two letters written after the fall of that duke which imply a reproach upon him for his failures. One relates to the building funds for the English church at Rotterdam, for which the duke and the former lord treasurer had done little that was expected of them.⁷ The other is concerned with one of Compton's many schemes for recovering parish church endowments and advowsons. Its substance will be noted later in the paper, in the discussion of Compton's efforts to better the status of the clergy. It relates to a Captain Adams, whom Compton considered to have been "ill rewarded by the Duke of Marlborough. . . ."⁸

⁵Godolphin to Harley, Jan. 4, 1706/7, *H.M.C. Rpt., Bath MSS*, I, 152.

⁶Compton to Harley, Jan. 3, 1706/7, *H.M.C. Rpt., Portland MSS*, IV, 377.

⁷Compton to Earl of Oxford, July 17, 1711, *Ibid.*, V, 52.

⁸Same to same, Sept. 19, 1712, *ibid.*, 223.

Occasionally the queen herself did not repose entire confidence in Compton. In a note from her to Secretary Harley, referring to the bishop of London, she said:

... I spoke with him myself when I was at Kensington, and he promised me to take care the book that is called my Life should not be printed, but I dare not trust to the Bishop in this matter, and therefore desire you would give yourself the trouble to enquire after this book, and take care it may not be printed, for it would vex me very much to have such a ridiculous thing as this appear in the world. . . .⁹

In 1705, Compton voted with the high Tories to support the Occasional Conformity Bill, and spoke for the resolution declaring the Church to be in danger.¹⁰ In 1710, he spoke and voted against the impeachment of Sacheverell. When the Tory ministry came into power largely because of Sacheverell's impeachment, he showed his evident pleasure, and wrote a letter to justify his stand to his clergy.¹¹ What induced him to take this apparently high Tory, High Church position? What was his political standpoint, and what were his Church principles?

On nothing has there been less unanimity among historians than on Compton's political standpoint. Burnet called him "a property to Lord Danby, turned by him as he pleased."¹² Browning refers to him as "Danby's faithful follower."¹³ Feiling refers to him as "highest of the Tories. . . ."¹⁴ But none of them makes out a consistent picture, least of all Browning, for he refers to him in discussing the Jacobite Plot Controversy of 1697 as one "who had been converted by personal disappointments from a zealous Whig to one of the highest of the high Tories."¹⁵

Some clue seems to be needed to solve the problem of the bishop's political principles. With the small amount of material at hand that bears upon the question, it is difficult to make a confident answer. But a theory that will go far to clear up the confusion of his record in politics is this: Compton was primarily interested in the welfare of the Church of England, and the English nation. His part in politics is dictated by these interests, and only in a very subsidiary way by partisan

⁹Queen Anne to Harley, Sept. 2, 1706, *H.M.C. Rpt., Bath MSS*, I, 97.

¹⁰Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 446.

¹¹*Ibid.* He gives *Somers Tracts*, XII, 322ff., as his reference.

¹²Burnet, *His Own Time*, I, 392.

¹³Browning, *Danby*, I, 195.

¹⁴Feiling, *Tory Party*, 211.

¹⁵Browning, *Danby*, I, 539.

or sentimental attachments. As a member of the country aristocracy, he would naturally be inclined to the moderate country Tory position, except when he considers their immediate objectives dangerous. As the occupant of the third best Church position in England, he did not have to be a sycophant seeking preferment; his noble blood and his innate ability made him quite able to take care of himself. Thus he was free to cast his votes as his best judgment indicated, and he appeared at times something like a Whig, and at others something like a Tory, and at the last as a very high-flying Tory indeed.

In the early years of the London episcopate, when he was seeking to check the influence of Roman Catholicism, Compton was in league with various Whiggish and Protestant leaders, because their immediate objectives coincided; though, indeed, there were others described as Tories who likewise shared them. When the hysteria aroused by the Popish Plot became high and Danby was on trial, Compton abandoned the extremists, not only on account of his friendship for Danby, but also on principle. But he did not cease to warn his clergy about the dangers from Romanists in their midst.¹⁶

Since the committee of seven peers who signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange seemed to be essentially a bipartisan group, one can draw no conclusion from Compton's membership on it. In the negotiations for the disposition of the throne, Compton stood with Danby in a mediating position.¹⁷ In his position on the Comprehension Bill in the beginning of the reign of William and Mary, it seems clear that Sancroft had agreed to the principle involved, so we may not interpret Compton's part on it as partisan. He had probably favored the Toleration Act in Parliament on the assumption that some sort of comprehension of moderate dissenting ministers was going to pass, and therefore was acting for what he felt to be the best interests of the Church. As a practical measure, to strengthen the non-Roman elements in the country, he was favorable to toleration as a second-best alternative to attracting all Englishmen back into the national Church.

Compton's experience in attempting to carry out his responsibilities for the colonial Church may well have played a large part in determining his attitude toward occasional conformity. This practice allowed dissenters to qualify to hold office, in spite of the Test Act of 1673, by receiving the Holy Communion occasionally in the Church of England, but continuing habitually to attend their dissenting chapels. Because of the interrelation of Church and state in the English constitu-

¹⁶2nd and 3rd Letters to Clergy, 1680 and 1681 in *Episcopalia*.

¹⁷*Supra*, 44.

tion, the Church found herself unable to secure governmental authorization for some of the measures needed to carry on her work, particularly in the colonies. Compton told Blair that the Church of England party "was the weakest in the council. . . ."¹⁸ In 1700, the Church did not have a bishop to represent her interests on the new Council for Trades and Plantations.¹⁹ This was no doubt one of the principal reasons for Compton's coming to favor an act against the practice of occasional conformity, even though Queen Anne had made him a permanent member of the reorganized council in 1704/5.²⁰

Compton and his fellow-workers had repeatedly tried to secure the establishment of suffragan bishoprics for America, but had been repeatedly defeated by the influence brought to bear on the ministry by persons in the colonies and at home unfriendly to such a measure. Early in the reign of Queen Anne, the project had seemed particularly hopeful, but the government then in power had not let it pass.

Robert Wolcott, Jr., has made it clear that the political alliances of public men in Queen Anne's time can no longer be listed as simply Whig or Tory, but that definite wings of each party existed, with variant objectives and attitudes, with many independents, besides. One cannot assume that a man can be classified rigidly by his votes cast during one particular ministry.²¹

Compton opposed the Church policy of the coalition government in power—a Whiggish, prodissenting policy, and for that reason came to vote with the opposition, described by older historians as solidly Tory. It may have been for the same reason that he voted for the resolution declaring the Church to be in danger, because he felt the inability to take the action needed for her welfare constituted a danger indeed.

It seems strange that Sacheverall should have enlisted the sympathy of Compton, able judge of men that he was, for he surely could see the smallness of the man. Yet he voted against Sacheverall's conviction in the House of Lords. Some light might be thrown upon Compton's attitude, however, by taking note of a previous vote he cast, in 1699, against the deprivation of Watson of St. David's for simony.²² It is entirely possible that had either of these men been on trial in the

¹⁸Blair to Nicholson, Perry, *Historical Collections*, I, 4.

¹⁹Nicholson to Archbishop of Canterbury, July 23, 1700, *ibid.*, 122.

²⁰Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 446.

²¹Robert Wolcott, Jr., "English Party Politics (1688-1714)," in *Essays in Modern History in Honor of Wilber Cortez Abbott* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941).

²²Lee, art. "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 446.

Church's own courts, Compton would have favored his conviction. He had himself stood trial before the court of high commission, and had declared that he ought to be tried in the court of his archbishop, and nowhere else.²³ If he protested against the Erastian invasion of the jurisdiction of the Church courts on his own behalf, he might well do the same for others.

It is possible, then, to see Compton's place in the politics of his time as governed by what he considered the best interests of the Church to require, and not as a matter of party alignment. It is significant that neither Morgan²⁴ nor Wolcott²⁵ gives Compton a place in the political party magnates they list.

What was the churchmanship of Compton, reputed in Charles II's day to be the most Protestant bishop in England, and by the time of his death reckoned amongst the High Church group? Were his principles changed by his experience, or was he in Church as well as in state a man without a party? How are his actions in the reign of Queen Anne to be explained unless there can be made out the standpoint that he occupied?

To begin to find what this was, it should be noticed that Compton had learned both sides of the party alignment in the Church. He had gone to Cambridge for his instructions for the priesthood, and Cambridge was then influenced largely by the Latitudinarians, Ralph Cudworth and Henry More. Quite possibly his studies on the continent had made him seek just such a standpoint as he thought he might find at Cambridge. It was here, no doubt, that his path first crossed that of Burnet, who spent some time there in the years 1662 and 1663.²⁶ Here, perhaps, Burnet gained his impression of Compton's lack of learning. It seems likely that Compton was not satisfied with the attitude he found there, and consequently did not apply himself as much as he might.

But in a few years Compton returned to Oxford, and there continued until he had earned his doctorate. Oxford was quite different from Cambridge in its attitudes; it was the center of Royalist, Tory and High Church principles. Thus the other side of the picture was presented to his mind.

We have some evidence for the attitude which he developed in the course of this schooling. When Evelyn heard him preach at court in

²³H. Paman to Sir R. Verney, Aug. 11, 1686, *H.M.C. 7th Rpt.* 503.

²⁴Morgan, *English Political Parties*, *passim*.

²⁵Wolcott, "English Party Politics," *passim*.

²⁶Art. "Gilbert Burnet," *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., IV, 851.

1673, he gave us Compton's topic along with his unfavorable verdict on the performance: Compton was "showing the Church's power in ordaining things indifferent."²⁷ Now this is the Anglican side of the main controversy with the nonconformists since Queen Elizabeth's day, and it shows at least that Compton knew his Hooker, for Hooker had built his structure of theology on this beginning.²⁸

In the letters which Compton wrote to his clergy, collected in *Episcopalia*, we have our best clues to the attitude which he maintained toward the Church. In the first letter, written April 15, 1679, Compton asks for the administration of Holy Baptism to be performed in public, "that its sacred meaning may be understood by all"; for the clergy to admonish all the people of their parishes to frequent reception of the Holy Communion, "in obedience to our Lord's command," and blames the ministers of the Commonwealth period for creating a prejudice against it. In the midst of his struggles against the Roman Catholics, he uses the argument:

Surely if we condemn the Church of Rome for putting off half the Communion, they will rise up in judgment against us at the last day, and utterly condemn all such as neglect the whole.

The last section of the first letter has to do with the duty of catechizing, the neglect of which, he asserts, has "left the Church without foundations. . . . What reverence or respect can be looked for from the people to the two Sacraments, when they have never learned what they are?" Compton goes on to show the need for teaching the moral duties of Christians as contained in the catechism, and exhorts his clergy to move parents, masters and mistresses to bring their children and apprentices to be taught.²⁹

There is nothing in this letter to mark Compton as a theologian. Its only eloquence is that of sincerity, reverence, and simplicity. It is what we would expect from the practical pastor and administrator, with just a touch of "talking like a trooper." But his tone with his clergy is gentle, and he expresses appreciation for the hearty cooperation he is receiving.

The second letter, July 6, 1680, is much different. It is anti-Roman polemic, attacking the Church of Rome for three practices: "the half-communion," prayers in an unknown tongue, and prayers to the saints. In it Compton makes considerable use of quotations from the

²⁷Evelyn, *Diary*, II, 89.

²⁸Richard Hooker, *Works*, ed. J. Keble (3 vols., Oxford, 1836), II, 30ff.

²⁹*Episcopalia*, 1-18.

Church Fathers, and a rather discriminating use of Scripture. It is not, in short, the work of an ignorant man.³⁰

The third letter, written in 1682, deals with two topics, Confirmation, and visitation of the sick. In this letter Compton traces the history and justification of these Catholic usages, with a good spread of Biblical and patristic evidence. He insists upon the Apostolic origin of Confirmation, and its reservation to the bishop as its proper minister, though, in keeping with the definition of a sacrament in the Prayer Book and Articles, he does not call it one. His teaching in this regard agrees with that of John Cosin, Joseph Hall, Hamon L'Estrange, and Jeremy Taylor, amongst others.³¹ In the visitation of the sick, Compton urges the use of priestly absolution where called for. Neither of these teachings would be very welcome to the dissenters of his day.³²

The fourth letter, April 6, 1683, is addressed to the recommendation of strict conformity on the part of the clergy to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church. It takes distinctly High Church ground, and gives no color to the supposition that Compton was at this period a Latitudinarian. It, too, is rather carefully reasoned out, and makes use of Scripture and the Fathers in no unworkmanlike way.³³

The fifth letter, 1684, pertains to the Holy Communion, and the disciplinary canons surrounding it. Compton reminds the clergy that they share with the church wardens the duty of reporting those who absent themselves, and, while recommending gentleness and persuasion, asks for "an impartial presentment of all recusants, and all prophane and debauched persons." Compton speaks of the Holy Communion as "the Blessed Sacrament . . . wherein the whole mystery and benefit of the New Covenant is contained. . . ." This again, is distinctly Anglican teaching, and bespeaks a deep reverence in its author. The Puritans are again blamed for the neglect of the sacrament, and their régime in Commonwealth times is characterized as one "where the doctrine of censuring others, and observing no order themselves is the whole catechism." In an appendix to the letter, Compton remarks how strange it is that, whereas in former times it was a great grief to be debarred from Communion, now we must persuade men to come.³⁴

In the sixth letter, April 18, 1685, the last one in the edition available for this study, Compton argues for the authority of the Church to

³⁰*Episcopalia*, 19-34.

³¹*Anglicanism: The Thought and Practice of the Church of England Illustrated from the Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Paul Elmer More and Frank Leslie Cross (London, 1951), 443-52.

³²*Episcopalia*, 35-52.

³³*Episcopalia*, 53-74.

³⁴*Episcopalia*, 75-92.

set forth holy days for observance on the same basis as Sundays. He discusses church attendance, and seems to take the Laudian line, "Compel them to come in!"²⁵

This cursory summary of the only materials available for a study of his teachings should make it plain that Compton was neither ignorant of the teachings of the Church and the means for establishing them, nor backward in enforcing them. Though his tone to his clergy is friendly and appreciative, there is something of the army commander—the good one, who can win his men's obedience—in it. In the only period for which we have any materials, the years under Charles II, he has already emerged as a High Church bishop. No doubt, like Sancroft and Ken, he can maintain friendly relations with dissenters, and, like them, was willing to carry out the agreement for some measure of comprehension after the Revolution, but he cannot have been willing to make any very considerable concessions as would have compromised away the nature of the Church.

There is a letter in the Ancaster Manuscripts, which describes Compton's position in the controversies of 1710. It is intended to inform its recipient that High Church does not mean disloyal, nor are all Church of England men of Sacheverell's stripe, and rebukes him for swallowing the dissenter's propaganda. It then goes on:

... I allow Dr. Tillotson and many others of the C. of E. to have been its bulwark against popery (tho' not one of the prick-ear'd herd of peaceable modest Dissenters that I ever heard of) but can you think of none (if now living) that would be stigmatized (to use your own word) with the name of a High Churchman that stood in the gap? What do you think of the seven Bishops that were sent to the Tower? What of London and York, etc?²⁶

Compton continued faithful to his duties toward Church and queen throughout his closing years. The queen was very grieved at the death of Prince George in 1708, and the bishop was very attentive to her. The Rev. Ralph Bridges wrote to Sir William Trumbull:

"The Bishop of London is a pure, good man, and takes a world of care of the Queen on the mournful occasion. He visits her every day."²⁷

²⁵*Episcopalia*, 93-110.

²⁶August 4, 1710, writer and addressee uncertain: thought to be Peregrine Bertie to his brother, the Marquis of Lindsay, *H.M.C. Rpt., Ancaster MSS*, I, 441-2.

²⁷Bridges to Trumbull, Nov. 8, 1708, *H.M.C. Rpt., Downshire MSS*, I, Pt. 2, 863.

The bishop himself suffered a severe accident in 1712 in a fall backward on the stairs, and was not expected to recover.³⁸ He had evidently made too many commitments upon his income, for he wrote to the earl of Oxford for £3000 out of secret service "to prevent the utmost shame."³⁹ But he did recover from the injury, and lived another year, not unfruitfully, as his correspondence shows. He died on July 7, 1713, in his eighty-first year.

³⁸Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford, 1948), II, 562.

³⁹H. Compton to E. of Oxford, Oct. 8, 1712, *H.M.C. Rpt., Portland MSS*, V, 233.

CHAPTER VII

Ordinary for the Colonial Church

IT might seem at first sight unfortunate that the busiest diocesan in England should likewise be the ordinary for the overseas Church. But in the important and formative years covered by the episcopate of Compton, it seems evident that no other bishop in England could have contributed what he did to the cause in wisdom, foresight, and immense attention to detail. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley wrote of him: "as Bishop of London he took a deep personal interest in the welfare of the Church in the colonies and in the missionaries."¹

The vexed question of the origin of the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop of London cannot be dealt with in the scope of this paper, if indeed, it is as yet capable of solution. But it does seem clear that some sort of jurisdiction existed before Compton came to Fulham. A letter to the earl of Dorset, written by the express command of King Charles I, directs Dorset as governor of the Summer Islands to admit no clergy without a certificate of their conformity to the Church from the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London.² In 1677, two clergymen, "His Majesty's chaplains in Jamaica," petitioned the council for their back salary, and in their petition stated that they were "chosen in 1663 by the Bishop of London."³ Thus it seems clear that a jurisdiction of sorts already rested on the bishop of London before Compton was preferred to that see.

In the first year of his London episcopate, Compton was made a member of the privy council committee of trade and plantations,⁴ and on its reorganization in 1679 was reappointed to it.⁵ On June 8, 1676, the committee considered a proposal to send four ministers to the Leeward Islands, and decided to send six instead. The bishop of London was "instructed to license and appoint six able ministers. . . ."⁶

¹E. Clowes Chorley, *Quarter of a Millennium; Trinity Church in the City of New York, 1696-1947*, Church Historical Society Publication No. 22 (Philadelphia, 1947), 16.

²Council to the Earl of Dorset, Aug. 19, 1638, *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Doc. 404.

³*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1677-82*, Doc. 515, Dec. 7, 1677. (This work is cited hereinafter as *Cal. State Papers, Col.*). Compton had refused to pay these men, because he knew their parishes were able to, and were supposed to pay them.

⁴*Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Doc. 634, Oct. 20, 1676.

⁵*Ibid.*, Doc. 819, Apr. 22, 1679.

⁶*Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I, Doc. 1145, June 6, 1676.

In 1677, Compton presented a memorial to the committee listing nine abuses in the colonial Church: the governors kept parishes vacant; the profits of vacant parishes were wrongfully used by the people; ministers were hired for a time only; they were ill paid; in Maryland and some other places, there was no maintenance for them; in Virginia, burial places were not provided; vestries lorded it over their ministers; in Virginia, the laws concerning marriage were abused, in that care was not taken to see that ministers had proof of being in orders; and no care was taken to provide passage for new ministers.⁷

This report indicates some investigation on Compton's part, and in years to come he strove earnestly to secure the remedies for these conditions, though with very partial success. In another report in the same year, dealing with the condition of the Church in Jamaica, Compton noted that there were only three ministers for the fifteen parishes there, although the salaries required to be paid to the ministers in each parish by act of the island assembly were adequate. The minutes of the board of trade read that he

proposes, being ordinary of the place, that in case he sends ministers over, none without his license be received, and that those he sends over with licenses be not rejected without sufficient cause alleged, and that they ought to admit their ministers to be of their vestries.⁸

His claim to be "ordinary of the place" was evidently recognized, for an order in council directs the governor

that no minister be received in Jamaica without the Bishop of London's license, and no such license be rejected without sufficient cause alleged and ministers be admitted to their respective vestries. . . .⁹

On January 14, 1680, the following order of the king in council reinforced Compton's effort to secure the admission of ministers to their vestries:

On a motion made this day by the Lord Bishop of London concerning the state of the Church in His Majesty's Plantations:—Ordered that the Lords of Trade and Plantations signify His Majesty's pleasure unto His respective Governors in America, that every minister within their government, be one of the Vestry in his respective parish, and that no vestry

⁷*Journal of Lords of Trade*, July 17, 1677, *Cal. State Papers, Col.*, 1677-80, Doc. 339.

⁸Memorandum by the Bishop of London, Nov. 10, 1677, *Cal. State Papers, Col.*, 1677-80, Doc. 475.

⁹Order of King in Council, Nov. 16, 1677, *ibid.*, Doc. 480.

be held without him, except in case of sickness, or that after notice of a vestry summoned, he absent himself.¹⁰

Compton evidently felt it prudent to limit the exercises of his jurisdiction in the colonies then established, to the particulars cited in his report for the reform of abuses. But when the opportunity came to review the request of William Penn for a charter for Pennsylvania, and the matter was before the lords of trade,

a paper from the Bp. of London was read, desiring that Mr. Penn be obliged by patent to admit a chaplain of his Lordship's appointment upon the request of any number of planters. . . .¹¹

This article was inserted in the charter.¹² Dr. Brydon has pointed out that this gave the bishop of London a right he did not enjoy in any of the other colonies on the American Continent—the advowson of the parishes of Pennsylvania.¹³

One more bit of evidence which shows Compton's largeness of mind appears in a letter of Penn's to the lords of trade, where he wrote, "and that I have taken the Bishop of London's advice in buying and not taking land from the natives."¹⁴

In 1681, the bishop succeeded in doing something for Maryland:

The Bp. of L[ondon] informs us that he has chosen the bearer hereof, Mr. Ambrose Sanderson, B.A., as a person fitly qualified to reside in Maryland, and instruct and take care of the King's Protestant subjects in that colony. . . .¹⁵

About the same time, an order of the king in council, signed by Compton along with others, reproves Lord Baltimore for not including many Protestants on his council.¹⁶

Compton used his influence to secure a grant of twenty pounds from the king for ministers and school teachers who would undertake to go to America, and also secured a royal order requiring that all missionaries be episcopally ordained.¹⁷

¹⁰Order of the King in Council, Jan. 14, 1680, *Cal. State Papers, Col.*, 1677-80, Doc. 1264.

¹¹Journal of the Lords of Trade, Jan. 22, 1681, *ibid.*, 1681-1685, Doc. 8.

¹²Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, 5.

¹³G. MacLaren Brydon, "Origin of the Rights of the Laity," *Historical Magazine, P. E. Church*, XII (Dec. 1943), 323-4.

¹⁴Wm. Penn to Lords of Trade, Aug. 6, 1683, *Cal. State Papers, Col.*, 1681-1685, Doc. 1179.

¹⁵Lords of Trade to Ld. Baltimore, Oct. 8, 1681, *ibid.*, Doc. 252.

¹⁶Order of King in Council, Oct. 14, 1681, *Cal. State Papers, Col.*, 1681-1685, Doc. 257.

¹⁷Chorley, *Quarter of a Millennium*, 16.

As the years wore on, the bishop's efforts to further the work of the Church in the colonies were seconded by some of the governors, if hindered by others. Sir Thomas Lynch, governor of Jamaica, wrote to him to report on the state of the Church and the clergy, to thank him for his interest, care, and gift of books, and in the letter speaks of the need for the lords to set up a satisfactory Church government.¹⁸ In 1685, the opportunity seemed to be at hand to accomplish this, and Compton requested of the council

all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the West Indies, or in Jamaica at least, excepting the disposal of the parishes, licenses for marriage, and probate of wills, and that no schoolmasters be received from hence without my license; or otherwise that he take the governor's license.¹⁹

About the same time Compton wrote to Lord Howard, the governor of Virginia, to remind him that

there is a constant Order of Council, remaining with Mr. Blaithwaite that no man shall continue in any parish without Orders, nor any be received without a license under the hand of the Bishop of London. . . .²⁰

Many various claims were made upon the bishop's attention and sympathy in the years following the Revolution. Among others was the plight of the Episcopal ministers of Scotland, who were being ejected from their livings by the terms of the revolutionary settlement. He had, indeed, tried to avert that blow at the time of the Revolution, but since the Scottish bishops would not agree to recognize William as king, nothing could be done.²¹ To some of the ejected clergy, Compton gave licenses to the plantations, and placed others in chaplaincies in the royal navy, as the earl of Bellomont complained in a letter to the board.²²

Likewise there was in England a large number of unbeneficed clergy, clergy with livings whose income was inadequate, and a large surplus of ministerial students hoping to take orders if they could secure a title under which to be ordained. From their number Compton

¹⁸Gov. Lynch to Compton, Oct. 23, 1682, *Cal. State Papers, Col. 1681-1685*, Doc. 757.

¹⁹Compton to Council, Apr. 15, 1685, *Cal. State Papers, Col., 1685-1688*, Doc. 130.

²⁰Compton to Ld. Howard, 1685, *Fulham MSS*, (Library of Congress Transcriptions), Barbados, Box 96, No. 29.

²¹See letter of Alexander Rose, Bp. of Edinburgh, to Abp. Archibald Campbell, Oct. 22, 1713, summarized in *H.M.C. 2nd Rpt.*, Appendix, *Papers and MSS at Trinity College, Genalmond*, 203-4.

²²Ld. Bellomont to Lords of Trade, 1700 *Cal. State Papers, Col., 1700*, Doc. 851.

selected many men of ability who lacked the influence to secure advancement at home.

Thomas Clayton, the first rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, was a man of outstanding talents whom Compton sent out. In the short period before his death, two years after his appointment, he secured the building of the first Church structure, and increased the congregation from fifty to seven hundred.²³ After Clayton's death the bishop sent Evan Evans, a Welshman whose abilities were recognized by Oxford University in the awarding of the Doctor of Divinity degree some years later. Evans worked untiringly for the Church in Pennsylvania, founded several congregations, and by his excellent preaching in the Welsh tongue retained for the Church the loyalties of many settlements of his fellow countrymen in the colony.²⁴ James Blair, recruited for Virginia in 1685, became the first commissary appointed for any of the colonies, and the right hand man of Compton and his successors in the government of the Virginia Church.²⁵

Over two hundred clergy were licensed for overseas service by the bishop from October, 1696, to March, 1710.²⁶ It is reasonable to suppose that he proposed the prospect of overseas service to a number of these men, many of whom had undoubtedly solicited him for domestic livings. While it is no matter for surprise that some of these men did not turn out so well, recent studies of the colonial clergy licensed by the bishop of London for Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware have revealed that the moral character and devotion to duty of the men serving the Church in these colonies was unusually high, and demonstrated that many of the complaints lodged against them were politically motivated.²⁷

Compton's influence was evidently considerable at court, even when he was left off of the newly formed council of trades and plantations at the end of the century. The governor of New York and New England (Lord Bellomont) wrote to the council in 1699, expressing the fear that the bishop would have him removed from office because of his quarrel with two clergymen in New York. He had heard it rumored

²³John Clement, "Clergymen Licensed for Overseas by the Bishops of London, 1696-1710 and 1715-1716," *Historical Magazine, P. E. Church*, XVI (Dec., 1947), 330n.

²⁴Clement, *ibid.*, 331n.

²⁵Nelson Rightmyer, "List of Anglican Clergymen Receiving a Bounty for Overseas Service, 1680-1688," *ibid.*, XVII (June, 1948), 180.

²⁶Clement, *ibid.*, 318.

²⁷For Virginia, G. MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church*, I, *passim*; for Maryland, Nelson Rightmyer, "The Character of the Anglican Clergy in Colonial Maryland," *Historical Magazine, P. E. Church*, XIX (June, 1950), 112-132; for Delaware, his *The Anglican Church in Delaware*, Church Historical Society Publication No. 23 (Philadelphia, 1947), *passim*.

that Andros was displaced as governor of Virginia by the same influence.²⁸

This particular quarrel illustrates at once the support the bishop gave his clergy and the soundness of his judgment of men. The governor was determined to be rid of a Dutch Calvinist minister named Dellius, who was working with the Indians in the Hudson Valley. The Rev. William Vesey, rector of Trinity Church, New York, had offended the governor by retaining his friendship with the former governor, Fletcher. This evidently was Dellius' only offense. The bishop did his best to help these men, and succeeded in getting the governor reconciled with Vesey, but finally had to assent to the banishment of Dellius. Shortly afterward it became apparent that no one else, in or out of Anglican orders, was available to preach the Gospel to the Indians in their own tongue. The governor was in a desperate situation, for this work was of great importance in keeping the Iroquois friendly in the critical struggle with the French.²⁹ The governor had blundered. That Compton was also right in his estimate of Vesey is the conclusion drawn by Chorley.³⁰

The bishop was careful to investigate complaints made against the clergy, and could proceed with severity when necessary.³¹ In the towering controversy between the governor and the commissary in Virginia, Compton reproached the clergy for having allowed themselves to become embroiled in this political controversy.³²

Compton used other ministers not in Anglican orders beside Dellius. In New York many Dutch pastors stayed with their flocks, and when foreign Protestant refugees emigrated to America in a body, taking their pastor with them, Compton approved, and gave them his help. But if a minister was to be sent singly, he was ordained in the Church of England.

As the congregations and clergy became more numerous in the plantations, and the problems of administration multiplied, the bishop appointed commissaries in several of the colonies, to exercise jurisdiction as his deputies. The earliest of these seems to have been James Blair, who was commissioned before 1691, and served in Virginia for many years. Blair made a *testament* that:

²⁸Ld. Bellomont to Lords of Trade, 1699, *Cal. State Papers, Col.*, 1699, Doc. 250, 135-6.

²⁹Frank J. Klingberg, *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York*, Church Historical Society Publication No. 11 (Philadelphia, 1940), 52n, 54, 60.

³⁰Chorley, *Quarter of a Millennium*, 19, 20.

³¹Bp. of London to Sec., S.P.G., Dec. 16, 1709, and same to same [1710], Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, 58, 60.

³²Bp. of London to Virginia clergy, Apr. 29, 1705, *ibid.*, I, 145.

The Governor being by her Majesty's instructions intrusted with the Power of giving licenses of Marriages, Probates of Wills & Inductions of Ministers (& the rest of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction being left to my Lord Bishop of London and by the Lord Bishop of London to his Commissary), which the Governor in his instructions is commanded to encourage & assist. . . .³³

But Compton was quite discreet in his expectation of what these representatives might accomplish in the New World. He wrote concerning his commissary in Barbados:

It may be as to ye exercise of his jurisdiction more may be expected from him than his commission extends to. For I am afraid his authority reaches little farther than to inspect ye behaviour of ye Clergy & censure obvious scandalous practices in all ye people. . . .³⁴

After Compton's death, James Blair wrote to the new bishop of London:

I had lately the honor of your Lordship's of Aug. 4 by Mr. Jno. Robinson, having a little before that Recd. the Commission, to be your Lordship's Commissary for this Country. I heartily thank your Lordship & shall endeavor to answer your Lordship's expectations from me. But it is necessary that I acquaint your Lordship that this Country having a great aversion to spiritual courts, the late Lord Bishop of London directed me, to make use of the powers granted me, in a like commission by him, chiefly to restrain the irregularities of the clergy without meddling with the Laity, except our Virginia Laws and Govt. should give countenance to a further exercise of ecclesiastical discipline so that the Chief of my business has been, where I have heard of any complaints of the Clergy, first to try to reclaim them by monitory letters; & when that would not do, I have had a public visitation of their Church, and upon an open trial of the facts, have either acquitted or suspended the Minister as the case required. . . .³⁵

In the readjustment of the government of Maryland in the reign of William III, a law of the Maryland assembly established the Church of England with no provision for toleration. Compton and the arch-

³³Affidavit of Rev. Jas. Blair, May 1, 1704, in Perry, *Historical Collections*, I, 131ff.

³⁴Bp. of London to Rev. Wm. Gordon, 1704, Fulham MSS (L. C. Trans.), Barbados, Box 96, No. 101.

³⁵Blair to Bp. of London, Nov. 18, 1714, in Perry, *Historical Collections*, I, 130.

bishop helped to revise the Maryland law to provide the same toleration for the dissenters as was allowed in England.³⁶

It was through the bishop's interest in Maryland that both of the great societies, the S.P.C.K. (1699) and the S.P.G. (1701), came into being. He appointed the Rev. Thomas Bray as his commissary for this colony in 1696. As a result of this able man's observations and experience, which showed him the need for volunteer financial support at home, he began the work which resulted in the foundation of both of these bodies, which did so much for the work of the Church in the colonies.³⁷ In the work of organizing and maintaining these societies, Bray was ably backed by Compton and Archbishop Tenison.³⁸

Many special groups made claims on the attention of the bishop. Many Welsh had settled in Pennsylvania, and Compton was called on to find them a minister who could preach in their language.³⁹ In the period from 1710 to his death on July 7, 1713, Compton supported the Church party in the controversies in Barbadian politics. He backed the policies of the S.P.G. in the use of the Codrington bequest, and in its effort to set up a colonial episcopate. One of the four suffragan bishops to be supplied was to reside in Barbados.⁴⁰

When it is realized how much pressure was brought to bear against Anglican work in the colonies, by Puritan New Englanders, by colonial governors jealous of their powers, and by merchants and other interests in England, and how often Compton was in hopeless minority on the lords of trade, it is amazing how much he was able to do for the work of the Church in the colonies.⁴¹

³⁶William Popple to Dr. Bray, June 13, 1701, *Cal. State Papers, Col.*, 1701, Doc. 544, pp. 300-1.

³⁷Samuel Clyde McCulloch, "The Foundation and Early Work of the S.P.G.," *Historical Magazine of the P. E. Church*, XX (June, 1951), 121-135.

³⁸Overton, *English Church*, 219.

³⁹Compton to Secretary, S.P.G., Sept. 1, 1707, in Perry, *Historical Collections*, II, 30. See also, Nelson R. Burr, "The Welsh Episcopalians of Colonial Pennsylvania and Delaware," *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, VIII (1939), 101-122.

⁴⁰J. Harry Bennett, Jr., "The S.P.G. and Barbadian Politics, 1710-1720," *Historical Magazine of the P. E. Church*, XX (June, 1951), 190-206.

⁴¹John Talbot to Secretary, S.P.G., Sept. 1, 1703, Edgar Legare Pennington, *Apostle of New Jersey, John Talbot, 1645-1727*, Church Historical Society Publication No. 10 (Philadelphia, 1938), 96.

CHAPTER VIII

A Nobleman in the Ministry—Compton and the Status of the Clergy



HE figure of Henry Compton, an earl's son in the Church's ministry, has excited wonder and made his position dramatic in contrast with what Macaulay considered "a plebeian class."¹ Was he indeed as a member of the noble class almost alone in a sea of plebeian clergy? Firth, reviewing the methods of Macaulay, pointed out that he was led into exaggeration by the type of material which he used; he employed popular songs, poems, and lampoons in order to arrive at what he considered the prevailing opinion of the clergy's status in Compton's time.² Firth reviewed the work of Crocker, Churchill, Babbington, and Gladstone, writers who have taken exception to Macaulay's view, and finally approved the judgment of W. E. Lecky:

It is clear that Macaulay greatly underestimated the number of men of good family that entered the Church, and his picture is perhaps in other respects a little over-coloured, but the passages I have cited are, I think quite sufficient to establish its substantial accuracy.³

For some reason both Lecky and Firth seemed to have ignored the work of J. H. Overton.⁴ He was unwilling to generalize about the social status of such a large segment of the population as the clergy then formed, and pointed to several factors making such generalizations difficult.

The first of these was the great prevalence of pluralities:

It made the great prizes of the Church better worth having, but on the other hand, when two or three pieces of preferment were held by one man, those left open were proportionately fewer, and a vast number of clergy lived and died without the slightest chance of rising above the rank of stipendary curates. Those who were taunted with the plebeian rank of the clergy could retort, with perfect truth, by enumerating a host of patrician names. . . .⁵

¹Macaulay, *History of England*, I, 315.

²Sir Charles Firth, *A Commentary on Macaulay's History of England*, (London, 1938), 96.

³Quoted by Firth, *Commentary*, 130-1.

⁴Overton, *Life in the English Church*, 296-311.

⁵*Ibid.*, 297. He enumerated thirteen noble families who were represented in the Church's ministry, and adds "and a host of others . . ."

Anthony á Wood, writing about 1696 of Compton's decision to enter the ministry, said that this course was "the readiest way of advancement for the younger sons of noblemen. . . ." He would scarcely have said this had the practice been very unusual at the time.⁶

Second, Overton pointed out the great oversupply of clergy in Compton's time, which caused serious unemployment for many. There were simply not enough livings to go around. Some young clergymen became readers or lecturers in London churches; some became tutors for the sons of wealthy families; others were employed as domestic chaplains. Controversy has raged about the figure of the family chaplain. That some of them were menials Overton did not deny, but he showed that this sort was not typical, and that the position was not itself degrading, recalling that men like Ken, Sherlock, Bray, Kettleworth, Parsons, and others—men of great ability, not at all servile in nature—had served as domestic chaplains at some time in their ministries.⁷

The third factor was the relative positions of the social classes, which were different in Compton's time than they were in Macaulay's. The upper and middle classes were closer together, and the gulf between the lower and middle classes much wider than it became in the nineteenth century. Professional men and tradesmen were then closer together. Sons of great families went into trades as well as professions.⁸

It was not so much the social class of the clergy as a certain anti-clerical feeling which caused the laity to tend to hold the clergy in contempt. In his analysis, Overton cites the work of Eachard,⁹ who gives two of the charges commonly levelled at the clergy: "the ignorance of some, and the poverty of others. . . ." Poverty was really severe for the lower clergy: small benefices were apt to pay very little, but the unbeneficed man was in still worse condition. A curate might make thirty pounds per year, though many made less, and a domestic chaplain might make as little as ten shillings a month plus his keep. Naturally this did not make the clergy look well, but it should have brought contempt upon those who were responsible for these conditions and not on its helpless victims.

The charge of ignorance was generally false. The testimony of foreigners was that the English clergy of this period had a higher standard of education than those on the continent.¹⁰ Almost all of them were

⁶Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, IV, 514.

⁷Overton, *English Church*, 299.

⁸Overton, *English Church*, 300.

⁹John Eachard, *Grounds and Occasions for Contempt of the Clergy*, (London, 1670), quoted in *ibid.*, 303.

¹⁰Overton, *English Church*, 300.

university graduates. The literary works of the period, produced by clergy and by lay persons who had been educated by the clergy, were particularly brilliant, and should give the charge of ignorance the lie.¹¹

There is likelihood that this contempt for the clergy was partly aroused by their condemnation of the lax morals of the Restoration era, and partly by their incurable addiction to partisan politics. The first, though greatly to their credit, did not make them loved; the other was too transparent. Most of the country clergy, at least, were strong Tories, embittered by the actions of the Puritans in the Commonwealth period, and while their influence in politics might have had as much good about it as bad, this added to the bad opinion many laymen expressed.¹²

Now all of these factors served to bring some considerable unpopularity upon the clergy, and consequently colored the popular expressions from which Lord Macaulay made his estimate. Therefore, his picture must be somewhat overdrawn. The verdict of Overton seems just: no generalization seems possible. Compton, as a nobleman's son, was not the only one of his class in the ministry, nor was the gulf between him and men like Ken and Sancroft as great as had been imagined. But the distance between him and the underpaid curate or reader was startling.

The problems were real: there was an oversupply of clergy, and stipends for the unbeneficed were disgracefully low. A valuable study of the reasons for the surplus of clergy has been made by Norman Sykes,¹³ and R. S. Boshier has thrown still further light upon the subject.¹⁴ The greatest difficulty was lay impropriations of tithes, which had existed since the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and which no government since had been able to reverse. The population had grown and shifted, yet new church buildings or parish organizations could not be erected to make efficient use of the number of clergy available to shepherd the people. With the proper revenues intact, the Church could have built new churches and created endowments to take advantage of the opportunities afforded.

What did Compton do about these appalling conditions? The evidence is strong that he did a very great deal. First, he licensed and sent to the colonies as many distressed clergy as he could repose confi-

¹¹Overton, *English Church*, 308.

¹²*Ibid.*, 310-1.

¹³Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1934), 197ff.

¹⁴Robt. S. Boshier, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement: the Influence of the Laudians, 1649-1662* (New York, 1951), 13ff, 38n, 207, 266ff.

dence in and find livings for; with the organization of the S.P.G., he was able to use many more. Then he had the responsibility of selecting the chaplains for the navy, whom he usually took from this number. Obviously not every one of them could be trusted so far from home, even if he were willing to go. Compton therefore used a number of ejected Scottish Episcopal ministers to fill out the numbers which were needed in these areas of his responsibility.

At home, the use the bishop made of the patronage at his disposal was characterized by a consideration unusual in that time. One instance appears in this letter: "... Mr. Barry left a widow and five children, and £600 of debt, and the Bishop will give the living to one able and willing to help them. . . ."¹⁵ The bishop worked in every way that he could to recover the incomes of parishes so that they could support a rector. In one letter we see him at work on two such projects:

On behalf of . . . Mr. Forbes, a Hampshire gentleman, very active and serviceable in the late elections, suitable for the government of Maryland, who has promised if he obtained that government to redeem a parish in Essex that hath hitherto been left to the mercy of the Fanatics, and would settle the estate he had there, worth 100£ per annum, upon the Church, and leave it entirely to my disposal, a benefaction that does not often fall out.

Her majesty has an estate at Pleshey, in Essex, which costs her every year 25 £ more than the income, and the living has nothing to maintain a minister. It is a place of considerable antiquity, and hath several of the Royal family interred there. I have made shift by the contribution of several of the gentlemen of the country and mine own, to build up the church anew; and the present impropiator, a very honest gentleman, is willing to sell the tithes, I believe, for 300£ if her Majesty will be so kind as to lay down the money.¹⁶

The bishop was generous with his own money; the Rev. Ralph Bridges wrote:

The Bishop of London means to part with all his curious exotic greens, which are expensive to him . . . that he may give away more. . . .¹⁷

¹⁵Rev. Ralph Bridges [secretary to Compton] to Sir Wm. Trumbull, Fulham, Dec. 9, 1708, *H.M.C. Rpts., Downshire MSS*, I, Pt. 2, 865.

¹⁶Compton to E. of Oxford, Sept. 19, 1712, *H.M.C. Rpts., Portland MSS*, V, 223.

¹⁷Bridges to Sir Wm. Trumbull, Oct. 17, 1709, *H.M.C. Rpts., Downshire MSS*, I, Pt. 2, 881.

In his severe illness in 1712, Compton did not expect to recover. The letter he then wrote to Oxford, saying,

The surprise of my indisposition has plunged me in such difficulties that no man . . . knows . . . but yourself, as my only friend that can help me. In short, I want three thousand pounds immediately to prevent the utmost shame. . . .

must mean that he had overextended his commitments on his income by his gifts, and was likely to die in debt, and possibly short on some of his accounts.¹⁸ Keith quotes Collins' *Peerage*:

He was so indulgent to Church and clergy that he spared no costs or pains to serve them, buying in several advowsons, and purchasing small impropriations, settling them upon poor vicars, also giving large sums for rebuilding churches.

Keith says, "He died poor."¹⁹ Thus, though Compton was socially and financially much above most of the clergy, this fact moved him to pity, and he used his position and his means to attempt to bridge the gap.

¹⁸H. Compton to the Earl of Oxford, Oct. 8, 1712, *H.M.C. Rpts., Portland MSS*, V, 233.

¹⁹Keith, *Compton*, 24.

CHAPTER IX

The Character of Compton

THE character of Compton must be estimated for this study on the basis of the materials covered, yet they are not adequate enough to give the touch of certainty to a portrait. The glimpses that are given of the man show him in his public life, but almost none are vouchsafed for his private dealings, his friendly relationships, his inward thoughts. If manuscript materials exist which show this side of his life, they have not as yet come to light. If they do not, the life of Henry Compton may never be vividly told.

Some printed materials which were used by S. L. Lee for his article on Compton in the *Dictionary of National Biography* were not seen by this author, since they were not located in any library in the United States, but it is not thought that they contain any facts which Lee did not use in his study.¹

In the preface, the commonly accepted opinion of the character of Bishop Compton has been traced to the historians who shaped it. The assertions they made about him should by now have been tested by the contemporary evidence which has been used in the narration of his life and work. The criticisms they made should now be capable of being weighed. There were six faults of some magnitude alleged against him: ignorance, in greater or less degree; political subserviency, to Whigs, Tories, or Danby; rashness; spiritual weakness; lack of piety; and ineffective preaching. It will be well to review these briefly in the light of evidence brought to bear in the paper.

In the study of Compton's letters to his clergy, reason has been given to believe that he was not ignorant of the teachings of the Church, but on the contrary possessed a good grasp of their fundamentals, and was able to support them by arguments. If at the same time he showed no disposition to delve into abstruse philosophical questions, the cir-

¹The following, listed by Lee in the bibliography of his article, "Henry Compton," *D.N.B.*, XI, 447, contains the following works which are available at the British Museum, but not obtainable in this country:

- (1) (Anonymous) *Life of Henry Compton*, London, 1715.
- (2) Compton, Henry, *Episcopalia*, ed. S. W. Cornish, with a memoir of the author, Oxford, 1842.
- (3) Compton, Henry, *Articles of Visitation and Inquiry* . . . , London, 1706.
- (4) Compton, Henry, *A Letter Concerning Allegiance*, London, 1689.

cumstances of the time did not demand it. It is likely that his learning in this field, and in classical literature, was somewhat deficient.

But he did possess a kind of learning very much needed for the administration of a great diocese, for the responsibilities of ordinary for the colonies, and for the defense of the Church in a day of many intrigues against her; he understood the constitutional relationship between Church and state as none of his brother bishops seemed to, and he had the education necessary for the practical tasks which confronted the London diocesan in those days.

We may grant that he was not an original thinker, or a great theologian, and even that his basic education in the humanities was not up to the standard, so that his preaching and teaching were not adorned with beautiful classical allusions, as was customary in his day. But the principal contemporary critic of his intellectual gifts was Burnet, and that divine's consistent lack of tact and practical wisdom constituted him a poor censor for Compton's abilities.²

In his political activity, Compton has been belabored for being both Whig and Tory, party-bound, or led by Danby, yet as he has been seen there is reason to think that he was something of an independent figure, voting for what he conceived the best interests of the Church to be. No doubt he created animosities at times by this independence, the inevitable fate of the man who votes his own convictions. In the latter years of the reign of Anne, he differed almost completely with Burnet's political standpoint, hence the bishop-historian had a highly colored picture of Compton's politics. On the other hand, men of Jacobite sympathy, like Anthony á Wood, disliked Compton's role as one of the architects of the Revolution, and regarded him as an undesirable Whig.

The charge of rashness leveled against Compton can probably be made good in the part he played in leading the forces guarding the Princess Anne, yet this is an isolated instance, in a period of very great excitement. Normally the Compton seen in the discharge of his duties is one who weighs decisions carefully, guards himself against misunderstandings, and demands evidence—a very prudent man. One can scarcely make out a fixed trait of character from this one occurrence.

²The earl of Bellomont also cast aspersions on Compton's learning, but since he also called his wisdom in question, and was proved wrong where Compton was right, he need not be taken very seriously. Lord Bellomont to Lords of Trade, 1699, *Cal. State Papers, Col., 1700*, Doc. 983. Jonathan Swift wrote Stella of Compton, "He was a good man; not very learned: I believe he died but poor . . ." From Swift, "not very learned" is high praise. Had he considered Compton ignorant, he would have said so, flatly. *Journal to Stella*, I, 341-2.

The conspicuous defects of spirit which are alleged against Compton probably were thought to have been displayed in his reaction to the nomination of Tillotson to Canterbury, on the supposition that his absence from public affairs was due to anger and disappointment. But the evidence contained in the letters of Blair³ shows rather plainly that he stayed in because of genuine physical illness. The Compton portrayed in the literature of his lifetime is the courteous, self-contained and modest man who thinks more of his duties than of his own advantage. No other instance of supposed defect of spirit has come to notice.

The charge that Compton was not particularly pious is one rather difficult to counter. There is no evidence in the literature examined to prove or disprove this supposition. But the same can be said of most of the great Anglican leaders of the Caroline age; only Andrewes, Ken, and Jeremy Taylor have much to say about private devotions. This does not prove that the others had no private devotional practices, but simply points up the fact that the controversies of the time made it necessary for them to write about the devotional values in the public worship of the Church, which were called in question by the Puritans. Compton's own language about the sacraments of the Church in his letters displays a deep appreciation of their function in uniting the believer with Christ, and in the absence of other evidence may be taken to indicate that the charge is not likely to be true.

Even John Evelyn, his friend, said that Compton was not talented as a preacher. This might mean that his brief, unadorned statements did not appeal to that appreciative hearer of sermons, who was used to the eloquence of England's greatest. Quite possibly Compton had, as Burnet said, a "cold manner of speaking."⁴ No doubt it was true that Compton was not a good preacher in the judgment of Evelyn or of Burnet, who needed the deep things and the beautiful expressions to be impressed, but the preacher of simple truths can have great effect with the common people, who seem to have held Compton in great affection and respect.⁵ Great preachers are not always great bishops, who meet the Church's dangers and get her work done; for these latter qualities the Church had reason to thank Henry Compton.

³James Blair to Governor Nicholson, Dec. 3, 1691, in Perry, *Historical Collections*, I, 3-5.

⁴Burnet, *His Own Time*, I, 606.

⁵"... this most noble prelate by a conduct worthy of his birth and station in the Church acquired the love and esteem of all the Protestant Churches at home and abroad." James Welwood, *Memoirs of the Most Material Transactions in England for the last Hundred Years Preceding the Revolution*, 175, quoted by Overton, *English Church*, 66n. He cites also the *Diary* of Sir John Reresby, 321.

The impression of the good qualities of Compton on his contemporaries has appeared incidentally through the course of the paper. It would be difficult to list them all, but six appear to deserve especial notice: he was held in personal esteem by many, who testified to his goodness; he was commended as a good judge of character; he was praised for his courage, his thoroughness in his work, his generosity, and his simplicity.

His contemporaries let drop quite incidentally, in the relation of events in which the bishop was involved, their good opinion of him. Such expressions may be noticed in several quotations in this paper.⁸ In a day in which the clergy were by no means universally popular, and when many bishops in particular possessed the ill will of many people, it is rather significant that these expressions occur so often, and that the opposite sort come only from those whose interests were crossed by Compton's execution of his duty as he understood it. An isolated expression is contained in a letter which John Dolben, archbishop of York, wrote to Sir William Trumbull. Someone had evidently promised a gift of melons to the archbishop, and had informed him that Compton was on his way to visit him. He wrote: "He says my Lord of London will come to York assuredly; that will please me better than melons. . . ."

Compton's practical judgment of men has been noticed incidentally throughout the paper. In the choice he made of clergy for colonial posts, when it is borne in mind that distance made mistakes serious indeed, it is remarkable that he had so few to lament. It has appeared that his opinion was valued by his colleagues. This is again illustrated by a letter of Dolben's to Trumbull, in which he is discussing a lapse committed by the dean of York: "... I remember you told me my Lord of L., a good judge, thought not very venerably of him. . . ."

Another strong impression made by the study of Compton's career is that he was very courageous, as many testified in the times of crisis when he was in the public's notice.⁹ It was easy to bend with the wind in those perilous times, and many of the clergy did so. There were safer ways to begin his career as bishop of London than his adopted course of resistance to the Romanizing activities of the duke of York, and

⁸*Supra*, 14, 20, 49, 62. It is significant that Sir John Reresby, who would not take the oaths, always thought highly of Compton, as did Collier, the nonjuring historian. Reresby, *Memoirs*, *passim*; Jeremy Collier, *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, new ed. (9 vols., London, 1846), esp. VIII, 459-66.

⁹Dolben to Trumbull, July 26, 1685, *H.M.C. Rpt., Downshire MSS*, I, 39. It would be valuable to know more of the friendship between Compton, Trumbull, and Dolben.

¹⁰Dolben to Trumbull, Nov. 28, 1685, *ibid.*, 62.

¹¹*Supra*, 15, 23ff.

Compton may have attained his ambition to be archbishop had he shirked his convictions; yet he never swerved from his course.

A marked characteristic of the bishop's work was its thoroughness; many complaints were made about the neglect some bishops showed toward their dioceses in his time, but even those who accused him of faults in some other respects testified to his faithful performance of his duties. Even in his old age, in the reign of Queen Anne, he still went about the rural sections of his diocese, visiting and aiding the small parishes. It seems a great thing for a man to stick singly to his duty in his difficult post for thirty-eight years, and have no scandal of negligence touch his name.

It is for his large-hearted generosity that Compton has been universally praised. A letter to Robinson, his successor, expressed this:

It having pleased Almighty God to make yr Lordship successor to that great prelate of worthy memory the late Dr. Compton [so] that not only is the chair [?] but also is his piety and charitableness which diffused themselves far and near for the good of the Church. . . .¹⁰

Compton seemed to give without counting the cost, and, consequently, he occasionally ran into financial difficulties. In a London groaning with the miseries of the poor, while ambitious and greedy men were making and wasting fortunes, his great benefactions shone out brightly, and though he died poor, his faith which led him to give without stint was justified; he died honored by Church and nation.

Finally, in spite of the state in which a bishop of that time had to live, Compton seemed to have retained a simplicity that is symbolized by his request concerning his burial:

Compton was buried outside the Church at Fulham, having disliked interments within a sacred edifice. He used to say, "The Churchyard for the dead, the Church for the living."¹¹

Evelyn's own estimate is a good note on which to end: He was "a sober, grave and excellent prelate."¹²

¹⁰W. Bethune to Bp. of London, Oct. 1, 1715, Fulham MSS (L. C. Trans.), Leeward Is., Box 97, No. 59.

¹¹Evelyn, *Diary*, II, 182n.

¹²*Ibid.*, 268.

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Book Reviews

I. American Church History and Biography

Ethelbert Talbot, 1848-1928 : Missionary Bishop, Diocesan Bishop, Presiding Bishop. By C. Rankin Barnes, D.D., S.T.D., Secretary of the General Convention and of the National Council of the Episcopal Church. Philadelphia, The Church Historical Society, 1955. \$1.00.

This well written and well illustrated memorial of a great bishop will be widely welcomed in England and America, and is especially so by one who in his youth knew and valued him. A man of great personal charm, of beautiful face, attractive address, and powerful preaching, as well as of delightful conversational gifts, make him stand out in memory, not only as a great bishop but as a unique personality. Dr. Barnes is to be congratulated on this valuable biography of the last Presiding Bishop by right of seniority of the Episcopal Church, most fortunately reprinted from the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

Autobiography of the Rev. Paul Trapier. Edited by George Williams. Dalcho Historical Society, Charleston, 1954. Pp. 99.

This unassuming little pamphlet is a real contribution to the study of the history of the American Episcopal Church. Mr. Trapier is a man known today only to special students of the period, but in his day he was a person of some importance.

Born in South Carolina in 1806, he was of Huguenot ancestry. He attended Harvard College from 1822 to 1826, and the General Theological Seminary from 1826 to 1829, when the influence of Hobart was paramount at that institution.

In 1840, he became rector of St. Michael's, Charleston. In 1844, he was a clerical deputy to that stormiest of General Conventions, and in the same year he was one of the presenters at the trial of Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York. In 1846, he was forced to resign his parish after a bitter quarrel with his vestry—a quarrel which arose out of his refusal to allow unconfirmed persons to make their communions. On the outbreak of the Civil War, he was one of the leaders in the formation of the Church in the Confederacy, and the failure of the South and the consequent reunion of the Churches was a blow from which he never recovered. He died in comparative obscurity in 1872.

It will be seen that the subject of our review was engaged in some of the crucial transactions in the history of our Church during his lifetime.

From the autobiography, which is tantalizingly brief, the reviewer has gleaned three facts of some importance.

1. At the General Convention of 1844, there was an organized High Church caucus, which meant behind closed doors. The caller, interestingly enough, was the Rev. William Cooper Mead of Connecticut, who lived to become one of the most vigorous of the anti-ritualists of the seventies.

2. The prosecution of Bishop Onderdonk, as is well known, was a piece of partisan politics, arising directly out of Onderdonk's action in ordaining Carey. But Trapier was not opposed to the Carey ordination, and was theologically on the side of Bishop Onderdonk. He fully believed in Onderdonk's guilt.

3. To Trapier, and others like him, the separation of the Churches in 1861 was not merely a political necessity, but a golden opportunity to set up a purified and more catholic-minded branch of the Anglican Communion.

Mr. George Williams, who has edited this pamphlet in excellent fashion, sums up Trapier's character in a brief paragraph which deserves quotation:

"Religion was for him a rigid ethos and a guide to human existence and behavior. Sobriety and propriety he demanded with as much vigor and determination as any Presbyterian. At the same time, his religion was as thoroughly sacramental and sacerdotal as that of any twentieth-century high-churchman. Violently protestant and almost abusively anti-Roman, he was a firm and sure believer in the catholic and apostolic faith, specifically in that branch of the Anglican Communion in which it had pleased God to place him."

GEORGE E. DEMILLE.

*Christ Church Rectory,
Duanesburgh, New York.*

The Episcopal Church and Its Work. By Powel Mills Dawley. Greenwich, Conn., The Seabury Press, 1955. \$2.50.

This is the sixth volume of The Church's Teaching Series. Part I, "The Heritage of the Episcopal Church," contains a brief history of the Church in America, both in colonial times and since 1789. Part II, "The Structure of the Episcopal Church," describes the Church's constitution and canons, and its organization both national and diocesan. Part III, "The Activity of the Episcopal Church," tells of the Church's present program overseas and at home.

The author and his associated editorial advisers have attempted a very difficult task. In order to cover such a large amount of ground, they have had to abbreviate and condense, often at the sacrifice of readability. There are times when the text seems more like a catalogue or a dictionary. It is handy for reference, but it is not a book that one would sit down in an easy chair and read—not for very long. However, if properly supplemented by informal lectures which brought out some of the more human aspects of the theme, it will serve well for Bible classes or study groups.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church Rectory,
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*

Adventures of the Rev. Samuel Entwistle. By Thomas van Braam Barratt, with illustrations by the Author. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1955. \$3.00.

This book might well be recommended, as a supplement to the preceding book reviewed, to some one who wants to know what goes on inside the Episcopal Church. Of course, it is not the whole story by any means, but it does lift the curtain and tell what the rector is doing, or trying to do, or just wondering about. While we may say that no one clergyman is likely to have had all of these adventures, yet we may say that at least one of them has happened to each of us—perhaps more. The stories are all told vividly, whimsically, and with an underlying kindness and good humor; yet at the same time there are incidents in which Mr. Entwistle leaves no doubt about his inner convictions. So we commend him to the reader; he is well worth knowing.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

Church of St. John Baptist, York, Pa., 1755-1955. By W. Walter Van Baman. Parish, 1955. unpagcd, paper.

This is an interesting summary of the history of one of Pennsylvania's colonial parishes, attractively printed and illustrated. The chief emphasis is on the provincial period.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

*Library
The Church Historical Society
Philadelphia*

Soldiers Without Swords: A History of the Salvation Army in the United States. By Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1955. \$4.00.

This is a valuable and interesting contribution to the history of Christianity in our country. For no one can question the fact that

the Salvation Army has played an important role in the life of our people, and many Episcopalians have recognized the fact that the Army has helped thousands of men and women who would never have responded to more conventional religious methods. There is a point to a story that became one of General Booth's favorites (p. 136): "Do you like the Salvation Army?" inquired an English vicar of his bishop. To which the bishop replied, "Well, I cannot say that I do, but to be honest I must confess I believe God does."

The Salvation Army came to the United States in 1880, fifteen years after it had been founded in England. Its early reception was friendly, in pleasing contrast to the hostility which it had encountered in England; although it should be stated that hostility developed before long in America too. The early work of the Army was evangelical, preaching in halls or on the streets, with a direct appeal to the drunkards and other derelicts. The social service aspect of the program—food, lodgings, workshops, etc.—did not begin in England until 1888, but was commenced in this country within a year thereafter.

From New York and Philadelphia, the Army expanded rapidly into the interior and across the continent. Its membership and influence grew steadily. A "secession" in 1885 and a "great Schism" in 1896 seemed to threaten the very life of the Army, but these were both surmounted and the organization moved forward again under new leadership. Although General William Booth "denied vigorously during his lifetime that the Salvation Army was a denomination," yet the later leaders welcomed a ruling by the U. S. War Department, in 1917, that the Salvation Army was to be recognized as a religious denomination. This made it possible for Salvation Army officers to become chaplains in the Armed Forces in 1917, and again in 1941. (Unfortunately, it may be added in passing, it also led to friction with other Christian bodies in some cities where the Salvation Army was working.)

The Salvation Army is now legally incorporated, owns a great deal of valuable property, and has won acceptance and appreciation from all classes of citizens. But it has never lost its primary concern for the outcast and the needy.

The book itself is well written, carefully based on sound and thorough study of all available sources. Its characterization of the outstanding leaders in the history of the Salvation Army is especially well done.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

AMONG OUR CONTEMPORARIES.

Edited by DuBOSE MURPHY, *Associate Editor*.

An article by HOWARD R. MURPHY, "The Ethical Revolt against Christian Orthodoxy in Early Victorian England," appeared in *The American Historical Review*, July, 1955, pp. 800-817. Some years before the publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859), and

before the "higher criticism" of German scholarship had become well known in England, many sensitive minds were beginning to rebel against "the ethical implications of what they had been taught to accept as essential Christian dogma." This revolt ranged all the way from the cruelties recorded in the Old Testament to the doctrines of election and of substitutionary atonement. The lives of three persons are briefly studied: Francis William Newman (younger brother of John Henry), James Anthony Froude, and Mary Ann Evans. The intellectual and spiritual pilgrimage of each is reviewed, on the basis of personal letters and other first-hand documents. From somewhat differing backgrounds, they came to rebel against currently accepted orthodox doctrines as "ethically outrageous." It was this reaction (in which the three people named had undoubtedly a large following) that prepared the way for the subsequent favorable reception of Darwin and the higher critics in liberal circles.

In the June, 1955, number of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, pp. 211-212, we noted two articles dealing with the effects of secession and war upon the Presbyterian Churches. We now invite our readers' attention to "Northern Missionary Activities in the South, 1846-1861" by FLETCHER M. GREEN, in *The Journal of Southern History*, May 1955, pp. 147-172.

"For some years before 1840 there had been developing in New England a deep-seated feeling of resentment against the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions [Congregationalist] and the American Home Missionary Society [Presbyterian] because they tacitly recognized the institution of slavery."

Finally there emerged a group of extremists who refused to have any fellowship with those who owned slaves or approved of slavery. This developed into the American Missionary Association, organized in 1846, which supported a number of missionaries in the border states—the most noted of whom was the Rev. John G. Fee of Kentucky.

"Many Christian people in different parts of the country became alarmed at the controversy that developed between the American Missionary Association on the one side and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American Home Missionary Society on the other."

Eventually the Southern Aid Society was founded in 1854, and its membership increased rapidly. Its purpose was "to deal with their Southern brethren in the confidence of Christian friendship." It carried on work which the American Missionary Association would not perform because it was aggressively abolitionist, and which was beyond the reach of the other organizations mentioned. The Southern Aid Society was favorably received in the South and accomplished a great deal, assisting many communions (including the Episcopal Church)

in their missionary programs. But when the Civil War broke out, its membership and support declined and it soon ceased to exist.

The article by the Ven. CHARLES F. REHKOPF "The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Missouri, 1819-1844," which was published in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, March, 1955, is also included in the *Bulletin* of the Missouri Historical Society for April, 1955, pp. 265-278, together with "A Portfolio of Early Episcopalian Churches in Missouri," with pictures of three buildings of Christ Church, St. Louis; and Christ Church, Boonville; St. John's Church, Eolia; St. Paul's Church, Iron-
ton; and Grace Church, Jefferson City.

The *Register* of the Kentucky Historical Society, July, 1955, pp. 263-268, publishes "A Short Bibliography of the History of the Episcopal Church in Kentucky" by W. ROBERT INSKO. This is a provisional list of articles, legal documents, pamphlets, newspapers and books, with an invitation to readers to make further contributions toward a complete bibliography.

II. English and General Church History

English Historical Documents, Volume I, C. 500-1042. Edited by Dorothy Whitelock, M. A., Litt. D., F. S. A. New York, Oxford University Press, 1955. \$12.80.

No publishing venture of recent years promises to be of more interest to the student of English history than the series *English Historical Documents* now being issued in twelve large volumes by the Oxford University Press. Designed, in the words of the general editor, David C. Douglas, "to make generally accessible a wide selection of the fundamental sources of English history," the series will present on a comprehensive scale never before attempted in such a collection the thousands of documents and texts which constitute the primary material of English historical study.

The immense value of such an undertaking to the serious student is amply demonstrated in the initial volume on the Anglo-Saxon period, c. 500 to 1042, edited by Miss Dorothy Whitelock. Here some 240 texts, covering every aspect of the life and development of Pre-Conquest England, are given in English translation, most of them available hitherto only in a wide range of learned publications, difficult of access.

The plan of the work is wholly admirable. An introduction of 100 pages by the editor outlines the history and social structure of Anglo-Saxon England, and is followed by an inclusive bibliography of the principal modern works dealing with the period. The documents are arranged in three sections: "Secular Narrative Sources," "Charters and Laws," and "Ecclesiastical Sources," each preceded by an authoritative discussion of this category of source material. Finally, each text is prefaced by a brief note placing it in its historical context, and pro-

viding useful information about the author, the original manuscript, and the reliability of the source.

Pride of place is naturally given to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, printed in its entirety, with all the important variants placed in parallel columns; this is certainly the most useful edition yet published for the ordinary student. The wealth of ecclesiastical material included may be indicated by mentioning the generous extracts from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, the *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* by Eddius Stephanus, Alcuin's *Life of St. Willibrord*, and Willibald's *Life of St. Boniface*. Selected letters of Pope Gregory I, Boniface, Alcuin, and of many other Church leaders follow, together with examples of the vernacular religious prose and verse of the period.

This volume will be coveted by all students with a special interest in Anglo-Saxon Christianity, and the entire series will certainly prove indispensable to any major theological library.

ROBERT S. BOSHER.

*The General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop. Edited by D. A. Callus. Oxford, The Clarendon Press. 1955. Pp. xxv+263. \$6.75.

Robert Grosseteste, born c. 1168, chancellor of Oxford (c. 1215-1221), bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253), was (like Albert Schweitzer in the 20th century) the most versatile man of his century. As a scholar, he anticipated the New Learning of the Renaissance. As a scientist, he pioneered in the true scientific method. As a bishop, he was a strong and fearless exponent of the pastoral ideal, and a valiant reformer of clerical abuses and lay licentiousness. A staunch upholder of the spiritual prerogatives of the papacy and an opponent of lay encroachments, royal and otherwise, on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Grosseteste did not hesitate in the last year of his life to reject Innocent IV's appointment of his nephew to a canonry in Lincoln, on the ground that such an unworthy appointment could not be a genuine exercise of the apostolic power.

The book under review is a symposium of essays by leading Oxford and Lincoln scholars in commemoration of the seventh centenary of Grosseteste's death. Sir Maurice Powicke contributes a brilliant introduction summarizing Grosseteste's career and place in pre-Reformation history. He was a man of his age, as Dr. Johnson and Sir Walter Scott were of theirs. He was one of the first to welcome the friars to England. He did his hardest work between the ages of sixty-seven and eighty-five as bishop of the largest diocese in England, extending from the Humber to the Thames.

The editor, Fr. D. A. Callus, O. P., contributes a well-documented essay on "Robert Grosseteste as Scholar." He brings out his "meticu-

lous care for detail" and "his interest in grammar and linguistics." He contributed more than any other person to the introduction of Greek learning into 13th century England. Fr. Callus weighs carefully Grosseteste's characteristics as translator of the Ignatian Epistles, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, and various other works. He concludes that

"his linguistic attainments, minimized by Roger Bacon and despised by the humanists . . . are recognized even by modern scholars as great not only for his age but for every age. . . . He gave a powerful impetus in every department of intellectual activity in which he himself excelled, and left behind him a tradition of learning which was destined to grow, increase, and deepen through the centuries."

Beryl Smalley, writing of "The Biblical Scholar," shows that Grosseteste's Hebrew studies came late in his career. As an expositor, in contrast to the Schoolmen, he preferred scholarship to dialectic. Neglected by his contemporaries, his blend of Biblical theology and moral exhortation exerted a strong influence on such different men as Wyclif and Gascoigne in the 15th century.

A. C. Crombie, writing on "Grosseteste's Position in the History of Science," sees Grosseteste's special importance in the fact that "he seems to have been the first Western writer to go systematically into the problem of the role of experiment in scientific inquiry." In the University of Oxford he established a tradition of scientific inquiry which gave it the leadership of Western science for over a century.

R. W. Hunt contributes a study of Grosseteste's library, with two appendices. The size of the library is largely conjectural, but Dr. Hunt points out that "more books containing autograph notes by him have perhaps survived than of any mediaeval writer of comparable eminence."

The late Dr. J. H. Srawley was an admirable choice for the essay on "Grosseteste's Administration of the Diocese of Lincoln." His utilization of the preaching friars, his visitation procedure, his strong insistence on the teaching, preaching, and pastoral functions of the clergy, his reform of patronage abuses, his zeal for the reform of the morals of both clergy and laity, and his relations with the dean and chapter of Lincoln are set forth in illuminating detail. Grosseteste accomplished for the episcopal office in the 13th century what Samuel Wilberforce accomplished for it in the 19th century.

W. A. Pantin, in an essay on "Grosseteste's Relations with the Papacy and the Crown," shows that as a scholar Bishop Grosseteste's fundamental idea was the supreme importance of the cure of souls. He sets forth Grosseteste's exaltation of the papacy. In comparison with Wyclif, and in contrast to him, Grosseteste was at once both loyal and critical. He believed in the superiority of the spiritual power, objected to ecclesiastics in secular office, and fought secular encroachments on Church courts. His rejection of the appointment of the pope's nephew, his differences with Henry III, his friendship for Simon de Montfort,

are each reviewed in turn—and an appendix to this essay deals with the documents that Grosseteste presented in person to the pope at Lyons in 1250, fearlessly denouncing ecclesiastical abuses and tracing them to their origin in the papal court itself.

Appendix I, by Kathleen Major, deals with "The Familia of Robert Grosseteste," and enumerates his various helpers and retainers by name. In Appendix II, Eric W. Kemp reviews "The Attempted Canonization of Robert Grosseteste." And Appendix III, by J. W. F. Hill, gives an interesting account of the opening of the bishop's tomb in 1782, as described in the contemporary correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks. A Chronological Table, a Select Bibliography, and an Index of Manuscripts conclude this thorough and scholarly series of studies of possibly the greatest English Churchman of the mediaeval period.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

Scripture and Tradition. Essays by F. W. Dillistone, G. W. H. Lampe, F. J. Taylor, R. R. Williams, D. E. W. Harrison. Greenwich, Conn. The Seabury Press. 1955. Pp. 150. \$3.00.

This is an important symposium under the editorship of Canon Dillistone of Liverpool Cathedral. The book took shape as the result of a Conference of the Evangelical Fellowship of Theological Literature held at Cambridge in the summer of 1953.

The contributors happen to belong to the Evangelical School, but they are all thoroughly and soundly critical in their approach to the relationship of Scripture and Tradition—and in our judgment soundly Anglican as well.

Historically, the weightiest chapter is that of the Rev. F. J. Taylor, vicar of St. Andrew's, Oxford, and tutor and lecturer of Wycliffe Hall, on "Scripture and Tradition in the Anglican Reformation." He quotes Bishop Mandell Creighton to the effect that the particular danger which confronted the Church in the later Middle Ages was "not that the faith should be dissolved into speculation but that additions should be made to it, beyond the amount of knowledge which God had thought fit to give." While on the face of it the decree of Trent shows little fundamental difference from the Anglican Article VI, in its actual interpretation by Bellarmine and subsequent Roman authorities it has enabled the papacy to add anything it may think fit to the faith of the Church by the simple device of asserting that what was added was implicit in the body of saving truth from the first. Thus, in the pregnant words of Lord Acton, "Tradition was required to produce what it had not preserved!" Rightly did the Anglican Reformers and the Caroline Divines insist that this was to introduce a terrible uncertainty into the concept of saving faith.

The essayists also take issue with the exposition of Tradition by such Anglicans as Dom Gregory Dix, Fr. Lionel Thornton, and Canon E. C. Rich, who use "tradition" as a handy term for describing the whole organic life of the believing and practising Christian Society. In an able essay on "Scripture and Tradition in the Early Church," G. W. H. Lampe reaches the conclusion that "Tradition is explication and interpretation of the Scriptural data . . . maintained and safeguarded by the consent of orthodox fathers and General Councils."

Bishop Williams of Leicester contributes a lucid survey of "Scripture and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century," wherein he reviews the impact of the rise of Biblical criticism in Germany on English philosophical and critical thought. He illustrates the same with an interesting and highly suggestive "genealogical tree."

Archdeacon Harrison, in a concluding essay on "The Situation Today," assesses the contributions of Cullman, C. H. Dodd, Tillich, and others. His closing paragraph sums up the findings of himself and his colleagues:

"There is the apostolic testimony uniquely enshrined in Holy Scripture, made living in each generation by the work of the Holy Spirit, but only truly made living in a Church which like her Lord is identified with the world in its achievement *and* its tragedy, its growing insights into truth *and* its powerlessness and perplexity. All through history there is the life of that community which Christ continuously creates and sustains, His body; living in history, taking up human history into itself. That new creation into which we are incorporated, if it is faithful to its mission, constantly creates a living tradition of which the authority, though never final, is nevertheless real."

We submit that that is truly and admirably said.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

World Problems of Today. By Cyril Garbett (Archbishop of York). New York, Morehouse-Gorham Company, 1955. Pp. 186. \$2.25.

This little volume is the final literary legacy of the second ranking prelate of the Church of England, whose death at the ripe old age of eighty occurred on the last day of 1955. Those who are familiar with the archbishop's more substantial earlier works (such as *The Claims of the Church of England* and *In an Age of Revolution*) will agree that in these chapters he shows no diminution of intellectual vigor or power of forthright presentation—qualities which made him one of the great leaders of the Anglican Communion in these mid-century years.

In an introductory essay, the archbishop answers the question, "Has the Church of England a foreign policy?," in the affirmative, differentiating the foreign policy of the Church from that of a political party, inasmuch as the Church cannot enforce its views by physical weapons.

Under the heading, "Ideals and Standards," Dr. Garbett deals with "The Church and the World," "The Christian Standard of Conduct," "The Ideals of Western Civilization," "Science and Ethics." Under the heading, "World Problems," he deals with "World Hunger and Population," "Peace and War in an Atomic Age," "Christianity and Communism," "The Colour Problem," "Nationalism," and "Church and State."

Merely to record the titles of the chapters can give some idea of the breadth and statesmanship of the archbishop's approach to world problems, but can convey little idea of the delight which the reader will find as he peruses them. In general, the point of view is similar to that of Archbishop William Temple, and the style somewhat less scintillating, but more convincing, than that of Dean Inge in his *Outspoken Essays*.

The final chapter, on "Church and State," is a brilliant summary of the history of their relations from the first centuries, through the development of Caesaro-Papism and Papalism, the rise of National Churches at the Reformation, and the rise of the modern lay State which is either hostile or indifferent to religion. Following Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, he agrees that such a description does not fit the United States, a lay State which maintains a benevolent and friendly attitude towards the different Churches. At the same time he points out the defects of the American system—"the failure to provide a broad base for religious education in the public schools, and a tendency to encourage a multitude of weak sects"—and the service which the Churches can render the nation in matters of social welfare and public conscience.

In view of the recent flurry of renewed agitation for the disestablishment of the Church of England occasioned by Princess Margaret's decision not to marry a divorced commoner, Dr. Garbett's closing section on "Church and State in England" possesses more than usual interest (though written, of course, before the Princess's historic decision was made). He expresses the fear that disestablishment might be interpreted abroad as the national repudiation of religion. But tension and controversy between Church and State will continue, he believes, until the Church is given greater freedom and spiritual autonomy.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Church Rectory,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The Call of the Cloister. By Peter F. Anson. London S.P.C.K., 1955 (24 shillings); New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955 (\$8.50). Pp. xvi+641. 16 illustrations. Published "Cum Permissu Superiorum."

I.

The entire Anglican Communion owes a debt of gratitude to a Roman Catholic layman, himself once an Anglican and a novice of the Benedictine Community at Caldey, for providing a comprehensive account, long overdue, of the revival and development of the Religious Life in the Church of England and her daughter Churches. The first attempt to supply such an account was the work of a Scottish Episcopal priest, the Rev. Allan T. Cameron: *The Religious Communities of the Church of England*, published by The Faith Press in 1918. This pioneer in the field has long been out of print. Meantime, the disappearance of some of the communities therein described and the rise of many new societies, as well as new developments in the older communities, have rendered Fr. Cameron's book obsolete.

The nearest approach to an adequate study of the revival of religious communities in the Anglican Communion, aside from the work aforementioned, was the doctor's dissertation of another non-Anglican, the Rev. Ralph W. Sockman, the present pastor of Christ Methodist Church, New York, entitled *The Revival of Conventual Life in the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: 1917. Privately printed). While less comprehensive than Fr. Cameron's, Dr. Sockman's book gives a more detailed account of the attempts at restoration preceding the revival of 1845, as also of the more important communities established between that date and the apostasy of the Benedictines of Caldey in 1913. Dr. Sockman's bibliographical appendix, as well as his footnote citations, will always be of value to the student of post-Reformation monasticism in the English Church.

Mr. Anson's truly monumental work combines the two respective features, above named, of Fr. Cameron's and Dr. Sockman's books, with the added advantage accruing from access not only to their contributions, but also to documentary material relating to communities described by them which was not available when they wrote. *The Call of the Cloister*, therefore, not only gives an account of the communities which have arisen between 1918 and 1953, but supplies important as well as interesting details concerning the origin and the subsequent development—historical, spiritual, and canonical—of the earlier foundations.

An admirable feature of Mr. Anson's book is the fairness and objectivity of his treatment of a subject which in the past has aroused in his co-religionists¹ a degree of mockery, disdain, and fanatical denunciation, not unmingled with misrepresentation of motive as well as facts, equalled only—and, alas! often surpassed—by Anglican attacks on the

¹Miss Cusack (in Religion "Sister Mary Frances Clare"), the "Nun of Kenmare", in her anonymous and partly pseudonymous account of the Regents Park Sisterhood of the Holy Cross (1845) entitled *Five Years in a Protestant Sisterhood and Ten Years in a Catholic Convent* (London: 1869, long out of print) and her "two other autobiographies, *The Nun of Kenmare* (London and Boston: 1888) and *The Story of My Life* (London: 1899); Campbell, Diana A. G., *Miss Sellon and the Sisters of Mercy: A Further Statement* (London: 1852)—to mention only the most virulent. Passing sneers and slurs occur in many "confessions of converts" to Rome.

monastic revival and its promoters.² Mr. Anson combines fairness and objectivity with a sympathetic understanding of the religious life based on early experience of Anglican monasticism and later intimate acquaintance with Roman Catholic communities. He has incurred the adverse criticism of some of his Roman Catholic reviewers, and in the correspondence columns of some of the popular "tabloid" journals of his Communion, by his willingness to give Anglo-Catholics credit for good faith in their belief in the Catholic character of the Anglican Church, and for good will in aiming at, and accomplishing, the revival of monastic life in that Communion. Other and more numerous Roman Catholic critics have praised Mr. Anson for his charity—which never leads him to anything approaching a personal acknowledgment of Anglican claims to Catholicism, but which one reviewer in particular, writing in that excellent Scottish Roman Catholic magazine, *The Mercat Cross*, hails as a model of the charitable and irenic temper, all too rare, which must be the dominant note and constraining motive in any successful effort to achieve the corporate reunion of Christendom.

Mr. Anson's valuable "Foreword" and his generous "Acknowledgements" fill the first sixteen pages (Roman numerals) of his book. The author acknowledges his indebtedness, *in primis*, to the superiors of the various societies, "who have taken so much trouble to supply information about their respective communities." Two American clergy, of whom one is Dr. E. R. Hardy, and a Scottish layman³ are accorded gracious recognition of help rendered to the author in the making of his book.

The Introduction, entitled "The Call of the Cloister in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," is one of the most valuable features of Mr. Anson's work. In twenty-seven pages he furnishes his immediate readers, to say nothing of future students and historians, with an accurate account of British conventual life both in Britain and on the continent during those centuries, and traces the struggles, the failures, and the final triumph of those who strove, or at least desired, to restore to their mother the treasures of which she had been robbed in the sixteenth century.

²Spurrell, James, *Miss Sellon and the Sisters of Mercy* (London and Plymouth: 1852); Colles, William M., *Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Misery* (London: 1852); Cookesley, W. G., *A Letter to . . . the Archbishop of Dublin*, (London: 1852-53); Spurrell, James, *A Rejoinder, etc.* (London: 1852); Seymour, M. H., *Convents or Nunneries* (London: 1852); Goodman, Margaret, *Experiences of an English Sister of Mercy* (London: 1862) and *Sisterhoods in the Church of England* (London: 1863-64); Whately, Elizabeth, *Maude: or The Anglican Sister of Mercy* (London: 1869, 1872, 187—), reissued in 1895 under the title *The Anglican Sister of Mercy*; Agnes, Sister Mary, O. S. B., *Nunnery Life in the Church of England* (London: 1890), subsequently retracted; Walsh, Walter, *The Secret History of the Oxford Movement* (London: 1897 *et postea*).

³Mr. Allan W. Campbell, of Edinburgh, whose knowledge of the history of the religious life in the Anglican Communion is equalled only by his learning in the law, both canonical and civil, in liturgies, general Church history, and numerous other branches of ecclesiology, and of whose generosity in sharing his knowledge with others the writer of this present review has had, and continues to have, happy experience.

The main body of the work is divided into seven sections: I. Communities of Men. II. The First Sisterhoods (1845-1851). III. Later Sisterhoods (1851-1858). IV. Communities (of women) founded between 1860 and 1870. V. Communities (of women) founded between 1870 and 1900. VI. Communities (of women) founded since 1900. VII. Communities in oversea Provinces and Dioceses of the Anglican Communion: U. S. A. (a) Men, (b) Women; Canada, South Africa; East Africa; Australia and Tasmania; New Zealand; India and Pakistan; Melanesia.⁴ An Appendix of eight pages gives a "List of Religious Communities and Kindred Bodies in the Anglican Communion in Order of Foundation." The bibliographies, covering eleven pages, are arranged by centuries and periods—e. g., "The Oxford Movement and After," and by subject matter—e. g., Biographies, Communities in general and particular, followed by citations of articles appearing in periodicals, a list of community magazines, and a copious, but admittedly incomplete, list of novels in which Anglican religious and their communities are mentioned or their life, not always accurately or sympathetically, described. The final section of the bibliographies is a list, covering nearly three pages, of Anglican office books—vernacular Breviaries and Diurnals, whether intended for use by religious communities or not—beginning with Bishop Cosin's *Private Devotions* . . . called the *Hours of Prayer* (1627) and extending to the recently published *Anglican Breviary*, edited by Father Joseph, O.S.F.

Three indices bring the volume to a close: an index of Communities and Kindred Bodies, both Anglican and Roman Catholic, referred to in the text; an index of Persons, including authors quoted, and of Subjects; and finally an index of Places.

The appendices and indices alone are a notable contribution to the history of Anglican monasticism. But his telling of the story which forms the body of the book is Mr. Anson's greatest contribution to that history; it is, in fact, that history.

II.

The author has been criticized for abandoning the chronological order in recounting the history of the restoration and development of Anglican monasticism in favour of a division of the story which gives priority to the revival and restoration of the religious life for men. The present reviewer thinks the point well taken, but deems it of such little moment as to deserve merely passing notice. The first two attempts to restore community life for men under religious rule in the Church of England were made in 1842 and 1843, respectively: the first by John Henry Newman at Littlemore, the second by Frederick W. Faber at Elton, in Rutlandshire. Neither community was "monastic" in the strict sense of the term, since no vows were taken, but rather "Congregations," to use the technical term, of clerks and laymen such

⁴Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Communities are noted in connection with the European communities which have fostered them.

as the Oratory, of which both Newman and Faber became members after their reception in 1845 into the Roman Communion. Both came to an end as Anglican bodies on the secession of the founders. Mr. Anson has made available, in the compass of a readable, informative narrative, all the known data concerning these two short-lived communities.

Not the least of Mr. Anson's contributions to an adequate history of the Anglican conventual revival in his gathering together in a single volume of information, of which much has been hitherto unavailable, data concerning all the Anglican Communities still surviving and of all but a few of those no longer existing. Of the sixty-one communities of men listed in the appendix, founded between 1842 and 1953, eight have submitted to Rome, two were absorbed by other Communities, twenty-two are extinct, twenty-nine are still active. Of the one hundred and thirty-four sisterhoods founded between 1845 and 1952,⁶ four have been received into the Roman Catholic Church, seven have been absorbed or affiliated by other communities, twenty-eight are extinct, one hundred and six survive.

The compass of this review does not permit a detailed summary of the contents of this encyclopedic work. It is possible to note only a few of its further outstanding features. The author gives, where his sources of information allow, an account of the rule, habit, and monastic and devotional observance, of the various communities, as also the names and some account of their founders and other notable members. Of particular interest and value are the descriptions, given *con amore* by no mean artist and connoisseur of architecture, of the buildings, especially the churches and chapels, of the leading communities—and where the character of the architecture demands, of even small and obscure, or even extinct, bodies. Sixteen excellent full-page photographs illustrate admirably the descriptions given in the text. American readers should be pleased by the choice of the photograph of the members of the Order of the Holy Cross in choir at West Park, New York, as the illustration on the "dust cover"; as also to find that this and the conventual church of another American community, the Sisterhood of St. Mary, are the only illustrations showing non-English religious houses.

Aside from a few minor errors, for some of which the writer of this review must acknowledge responsibility, there is one mistake which ought to be—and no doubt has been in the second printing—corrected: the statement on page 87, to the effect that in 1884, the year after the withdrawal from the Society of St. John the Evangelist of Frs. Grafton and Prescott, the Society's "headquarters in Boston was [*sic*] transferred to the newly built Church of St. John the Evangelist." The fact

⁶The list does not include three sisterhoods, two English; one American, whose existence was unknown to Mr. Anson at the time his book was being written: (1) The Sisterhood of St. Etheldreda, which was functioning as early as 1867 and as late as 1876; (2) the Community of the Compassion of Jesus (not to be confused with the present community of that name ministering to the incurable at Thames Ditton, Surrey) which was founded in the district of the Church of the Ascension, Lavendar Hill, London, in 1875; (3) the Sisterhood of the Resurrection, St. Augustine, Florida—all now extinct.

is that the Society remained in possession of the building in Bowdoin Street which had been the Church of the Advent, but which following the departure of Fr. Grafton, the rector, and many of the congregation to the new Church of the Advent at Mount Vernon and Brimmer Streets, the old Church of the Advent was renamed "The Mission Church of St. John the Evangelist."

The mention in the paragraph above of a second printing of *The Call of the Cloister* affords an opportunity to deny categorically the rumour, recently current on this side of the Atlantic, to the effect that the book, its author, and the Roman Catholic bishop of Aberdeen, who gave his official permission as Mr. Anson's ecclesiastical superior for the publication of the work, have been censured by some "higher authority" (not named), and that on the exhaustion of the first printing there would be no second issue. Mr. Anson's denial of any knowledge of such censure, and the fact that a second printing is off the press, should reassure prospective purchasers of a work well worth the having.

THOMAS J. WILLIAMS.

The House of the Redeemer,
New York City

John Zizka and the Hussite Revolution. By Frederick G. Heymann.
Princeton University Press, 1955.

The underlying thesis of this excellent monograph—that the real birth of Protestantism occurred in Bohemia a century before Luther—is clearly presented and sustained.

The author disclaims throughout any real influence of Wyclif upon Huss, holding that even the main content of the Four Articles of Prague cannot be traced to him. The theory of the Reformation presented here is rather that the Hussite movement was purely of Bohemian origin, unmixed by any English influence, and stemming from such popular 14th century preachers as Conrad Waldhauser and Milic of Kromeriz.

Of course, Huss led more than a movement—indeed, he led more than a reformation. The affairs in Bohemia in Huss' day can be described as nothing short of a revolution—socially, economically, religiously and politically. However, it might possibly be questioned whether it was really the *first* step in the destruction of the caste structure of the Middle Ages, and therefore, primarily responsible for all the far-reaching implications in the modern world.

The religious aspects of the Hussite revolution centering around the University of Prague, and fragmenting from there into sectarianism is beautifully set forth. The Utraquists, or Calixtines, were the original, more conservative and aristocratic group. These discarded parts of the ritual which seemed to be incompatible with the Scriptures. The Taborites, which were the most important sectarian body, were more democratic and radical—discarding everything which could not directly and

unmistakably be inferred from the Bible. John Zizka, the principal of the work, belonged to the latter group.

The characterization and interpretation of John Zizka himself is masterfully drawn. He is shown to be a highly resourceful, determined, military genius, completely single-minded in devoting all his talents to God. Heymann observes that he has often been compared with Oliver Cromwell, and yet he never sought nor achieved the official position as head of the Hussite commonwealth as Cromwell did in his similar work in England.

A very interesting presentation of the 15th century art of war is woven into the fabric of the story. For example, Zizka's employment of the war wagon or wagon fortress is traced, showing its evolving use from a defensive device in his earlier campaigns to its development as a weapon for offensive warfare.

Finally, with a return to the original thesis on the perspective of the Protestant Reformation—an interesting historical conclusion is ultimately reached. This is that the Bohemian Reformation was not, like Waldensianism or Lollardism, a forerunner of the later Reformation, but rather an integral part of it—its first and by no means least important phase.

In short, this erudite monograph has a real place in the academic world as an important contribution to a difficult period of history. It is meticulous in scholarship, interesting in its presentation, and thought-provoking in its interpretation.

JOSEPH H. HALL, III.

*The Divinity School
in Philadelphia.*

The Catholic Approach to Protestantism. By George H. Tavard. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

This little book is a delight. There are, I think, two false approaches to the problem of Church unity. One might be called the "Every-one-is-out-of-step-but-me" attitude. Those who hold this view say, in effect, "We have the truth. No one else has it. Come to us, and you have unity." The other is the famous "Least-common-denominator" approach. The proponents of this view are forever saying, "The things we disagree upon don't matter. Let's just forget them, and build a unity on our fundamental agreements." Each of these attitudes is a refusal to face the facts.

The excellence of Fr. Tavard's book consists in his avoidance of both these pitfalls. An orthodox priest of the Roman Catholic Church, he has set out on the difficult task of understanding what Protestantism really is about. He first approaches the matter historically, brushing aside the legends that Lutheranism originates in the self-will of a renegade monk, or Anglicanism in the lust of Henry VIII. In fact, he has no patience with that kind of controversial statement, and his only sharp

remarks are aimed at the members of his own Communion who make such statements.

His analysis of Protestantism is clear, sympathetic, and penetrating. He avoids the error of so many Roman writers of lumping all Protestants together. He clearly understands that a Lutheran is different from a Congregationalist, and he knows what the differences are. He treats the Anglican Communion with respect and understanding as a thing by itself.

Fr. Tavard sketches the various attempts at Church unity since the sixteenth century, and studies at some length the Faith and Order movement, with its child, the World Council of Churches. He gives a brief account of the attitude taken by the Roman authorities toward these manifestations of the ecumenical spirit, and explains why Rome has been cautious in her approach.

But the pervading excellence of the book lies, not so much in its facts, as in its temper, its resolute determination to understand without sacrificing one's own convictions. The book is a most encouraging sign of the times to all lovers of true Church unity. It should be required reading for all the members of the Episcopal Commission on Approaches to Unity.

GEORGE E. DEMILLE.

*Christ Church Rectory,
Duanesburgh, New York.*

The Evolution of the Christian Year. By A. Allan McArthur. Greenwich: The Seabury Press, 1953. Pp. 192. \$3.00.

There are so few good books on the historical development of the Christian Year, that Dr. McArthur's work is most welcome. It is fair to say that for the period with which it deals primarily, the first four centuries of the Church's history, it is the best book on the subject now available in English. Dr. McArthur has had as a primary aim the restoration of the basic seasons and days of the Christian Year to the use of his own [Presbyterian] Church of Scotland. But his book is not a tract of propaganda, but a serious piece of historical research. In the main, the book deals with the great seasons from Advent to Pentecost; discussion of saints' day is brief, and largely outside the author's interest and concern.

The four chapters are curiously arranged. The first is entitled "Sunday—the Basis of the Christian Year." The second deals with Christmas and Epiphany, while the third and fourth treat of Easter and Lent and of Ascension and Pentecost, respectively. It would have been preferable to treat Easter as the *basis*, and then Sunday, since without Easter Day, Sunday has no meaning.

The most controversial section of the book will doubtless be the discussion of the origins of Christmas and Epiphany. No satisfactory explanation of the Incarnation festivals' beginnings has yet been produced. Dr. McArthur sees Christmas as a Roman institution between

the years 274 and 336, and maintains that neither Rome nor North Africa knew of an Epiphany feast on January 6th before the latter part of the fourth century. Gaul and Spain, however, knew Epiphany before they adopted Christmas. More debatable is the author's discussion of the origin of Epiphany.

Most commentators have taken the reference of Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* i.21, to mean that Gnostic followers of Basilides first instituted the feast in Egypt as a celebration of the Baptism of Christ. Dr. McArthur contests this interpretation. He believes that what the Gnostics of Basilides' party did was to reduce an already established feast in the Catholic Church that commemorated both the Birth and the Baptism of our Lord. He finds support for the Catholic institution of Epiphany in the homiletic fragment attached to the end of the *Epistle to Diognetus*, and in the Gospel of John 1:1-2:11. With regard to the interpretation of Clement, Dr. McArthur may well be right; but it is very doubtful if his tracing of the Epiphany feast so early as the Gospel of John can be maintained (the author only considers this, in any case, as a likely hypothesis). Moreover, there is a certain inconsistency in his treatment of the Fourth Gospel; for in this case he thinks the Gospel reflects a festival already established. But in his treatment of the Quartodeciman controversy over the date of Easter, he believes that the Fourth Gospel was responsible for the Quartodeciman position, and not that it reflected a primitive tradition of the churches of Asia.

His brief discussion of the origins of Advent is drawn largely from the evidence of the lectionaries. It may have helped him to untangle the problem if he had asked himself the question whether Advent arose in Gaul as a preparation for Epiphany, or for Christmas. It is quite likely that the fluctuations in the length of Advent are related to the displacement of Epiphany by the Christmas festival in the Gallican churches.

The author's exposition of the ancient character of Easter and Eastertide is excellent, as is also his discussion of the development and the "deformation" of Lent. He opposes Callewaert's theory that the "forty days" of Lent did not include, originally, the special fast of Holy Week. He has not, however, said much about Callewaert's ingenious reconstructions of the earlier stages of the Lenten observance at Rome. In fact, he does not make very clear the differences in the way Rome and the Eastern Churches severally developed (or "deformed") the fourth century Lenten scheme. He is certain, in his own mind, at any rate, that the Roman Pre-Lenten season of three Sundays was a "deformation."

A good case has been made for the position that Ascension Day was not invented in Jerusalem (as against the position of Gregory Dix), but rather in the churches of Constantinople-Asia Minor-Antioch. The passage in the *Pilgrimage* of Etheria of the observance in Bethlehem on the fortieth day after Easter had to do with a commemoration of the Holy Innocents, not with the Ascension. For this interpretation the author gives credit to assistance from Professor E. C. Ratcliff.

One other point may be noted. Dr. McArthur passes over entirely any consideration of Tabernacles in the Jewish background of the Christian Year, by remarking that "Tabernacles is not related to the salvation-history of the New Covenant." This has been the common view of most writers on the Christian Year. And yet it is passing strange that so important a Jewish festival should have left no trace in the Church. An illuminating approach to this problem has now been opened by the work of Archbishop Carrington of Quebec on the Gospel of Mark (*The Primitive Christian Calendar*, Cambridge University Press, 1952). Possibly this work appeared too late for Dr. McArthur to consult; since his monograph was first published by the SCM Press in 1953. We can be grateful to the Seabury Press for taking Dr. McArthur's important book into its own list of publications.

MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR.

*Church Divinity School
of the Pacific,
Berkeley, California.*

The Life of Jesus Christ. By J. W. C. Wand, Bishop of London. New York, Morehouse-Gorham, 1955. Pp. 208. \$3.40.

The purpose of the writing of this book is given in the author's preface: "It is an attempt to state as clearly as possible, for the sake of the young student and the general reader, what is the present position of historical scholarship with regard to the life of Christ." The age of the "young student" one might estimate at about that of a college sophomore. The writing follows more or less the ancient "scissors-and-paste" method of combining material from all four Gospels, with a nod now and then in the direction of "critical" scholarship. The influence of C. H. Dodd is evident, and Canon Streeter is spoken of as "one of the ablest New Testament scholars in modern times" (p. 195).

E. J. COOK.

*Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven, Connecticut.*

The Prince of Life: The Story of Christ for Young People. New York, Morehouse-Gorham, 1955. Pp. 240. \$2.75.

Since this is the "Course 7 Reader" in "The Episcopal Church Fellowship Series," the "young people" here must be in the 7th or 8th grade. The book is attractive and beautifully printed, with interesting black-and-white drawings at the chapter-heads. Written in story form, a certain amount of legitimate imaginative expansion is employed. It is, however, regrettable that the Fourth Gospel story of the raising of Lazarus is given such prominence, and that matters of opinion such as that the Apostle Matthew "made a collection of our Lord's sayings,

and this collection was included by the editor who compiled the Gospel which bears St. Matthew's name" are stated as facts.

After reading these two "lives" of Jesus, one has the feeling that the writers might have done much worse, but we still pray that some person of genius may be raised up sometime to do much better.

E. J. COOK.

III. Theology and Philosophy

For All Sorts and Conditions. By Corwin C. Roach. Greenwich: The Seabury Press, 1955. Pp. 215. \$3.25.

Dean Roach of Bexley has provided in this book a commentary on the Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany, in the gracious and lucid style that characterizes all his writing, making it readable and profitable for the laity no less than the clergy. The book is all the more welcome in view of the fact that helpful treatments of the Daily Offices are far more rare among current books than those that treat of the sacramental rites.

About one third of the book contains expository comments on the Opening Sentences. And the Litany is similarly treated in a phrase-by-phrase commentary. The clergy will doubtless find here a mine of sermon material, and the laity a body of useful devotional material. Historical information is woven into the exposition and is accurate and illuminating without being consciously erudite. There is a fine section on the value of the Psalms. As an example of striking comment, one may note the remark that in the Creed only Mary and Pilate are named, among all the people mentioned in the gospel story. "They represent the two answers which men may make to the Incarnation" (pp. 133-34). It is a curious anomaly in the total proportions of the book, however, that so few pages are devoted to the significance of the lessons, particularly in view of the fact that Dean Roach, quite properly, regards them as the heart of the Daily Offices.

There is in this book one element of ambiguity that the reviewer finds puzzling, if not disturbing: there is no honest facing of the proper relation of the Daily Offices to the Holy Communion. On page 6 it is stated (upon what Prayer Book basis, it would be hard to tell) that our liturgy recognizes the time division of the month "by the frequent use of Holy Communion instead of Morning Prayer, as the principal service on one Sunday in the month." Yet on page 12, the author rightly protests against the custom of many Church conferences and gatherings in ignoring the Daily Offices in order to have a daily celebration of the Holy Communion "and reserve Morning Prayer for Sundays." At no place does the author come to grips with the numerous and express rubrics in Morning Prayer that suggest the office to be preparatory to

the Eucharist. But on pages 166-67 he makes the illuminating comment, which I confess had never occurred to me before, that both the Prayer of St. Chrysostom and the Grace at the conclusion of the Daily Offices are "historically and practically" but "the prelude to the Holy Communion." Why is it that the Episcopal Church will not squarely face the explicit teaching of the Prayer Book? Morning and Evening Prayer are *daily* services. They are never presented in the Prayer Book as possible, or even legitimate, substitutes for the Eucharist on Sundays and Holy Days for which Collect, Epistle and Gospel are provided.

MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR.

*Church Divinity School
of the Pacific,
Berkeley, California.*

Personal Experience and the Historic Faith. By A. Victor Murray.
New York: Harper. Pp. 305. \$3.75.

Professor Murray is an English Wesleyan who has had a wide educational experience; at the moment he is president of Cheshunt College in Cambridge and was formerly professor of education at University College, Hull. The subject of this book is the way in which a personal experience today can be had in relationship to an historic figure who lived two thousand years ago. In considering this matter, Dr. Murray builds heavily on two significant facts: (1) true experience is always "personal" experience; and (2) the historic Jesus is also the living Lord of his Church. Therefore he insists on the personalized means of knowing our Lord, through Church life, sacrament, Bible, and prayer; and he also insists that Jesus is to be known, as living in our experience, by a way of discipleship which includes emotion, willing, knowing, doing, and belonging—each of the themes is developed at length.

This is a good book, written in a spirit of deep devotion; it will be particularly helpful to those who are now engaging, or plan to engage, in the work of education; for many of Dr. Murray's "insights" are directly relevant to the task of bringing children and other "new" Christians into the personal experience of their Lord.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Authority and Freedom. By Robert H. Thouless. Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press. 124 pp. \$3.00.

Dr. Thouless, who is fellow of Corpus Christi College and reader in Educational Psychology at Cambridge University in England, is a devout layman of the Church of England. In this book, which com-

prises the Hulsean Lectures in Cambridge for 1952, he discusses two major problems which are of singular importance today. The first is the relation of authority on the part of the Church and freedom for the individual believer; the second is the question of "credal subscription." The book, and the correspondence in the English press which followed its appearance on that side of the water, aroused great interest in Britain; it is good to have the book published over here.

On the first point, Dr. Thouless believes that the only way in which an individual can really secure his freedom is by participation in the community of Christian believers; the authority of the Church is a living, not a static, authority—it is fundamentally the consentient testimony of ages of Christian faith. As to the second point—and this is the one that caused the discussion in Britain—he is convinced that the conditions of "membership" in the Church are expressed, credally, in such difficult language that there is need for some simplification. He urges that it be recognized that the basic affirmations of Christian faith—the Trinity and the Incarnation, for instance—do not necessarily imply assent to associated doctrines which may, or may not, have historical or philosophical validation. He develops this theme at some length, but always with whole-hearted assent to the basic affirmations and with discerning sympathy for the troubled layman or the outsider who would like to associate himself with the Church but is "put off" by what he considers unscientific or dubious propositions in its creeds.

Whether one agrees with Dr. Thouless or not, this is a book which theologians and above all parish priests (for the latter are the ones who most frequently face the problem) should read.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER

Science and Christians Belief. By G. A. Coulson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 127 pp. \$2.50.

In the judgment of this reviewer, Professor Coulson's McNair Lectures at North Carolina, here given us in book form, are the best discussion of the problem of the relation of science and Christian faith published in recent years; and the "solution" offered is the most satisfactory among the many that have been offered.

Dr. Coulson is a distinguished theoretical physicist, holding the Rouse Ball Professorship in the University of Oxford. He is a devoted layman of the Church of England. Therefore he speaks both as scientist and as Christian, with the "authority" which belongs to one who is, so to say, in both camps.

The author discards, with adequate reason, the attempt to relieve the so-called conflict of religion and science by putting them in entirely different areas with utterly disparate fields of interest. He will not set religion and science in such a relationship that they have no conflict only because they have no contact. On the contrary, he insists that

science is in fact a pursuit which reveals one aspect of God's presence; the insistent upon truth, upon value, and upon the personal element in scientific research bring it, in many ways, close to Christian thought.

His analogy, of differing ways of climbing a mountain, with varying perspectives and varying routes, is an apt one; and he develops his theme in such fashion that the reader can see how the integrity of mind, the honesty of reporting, the humility before the fact, the spirit of co-operation with others in the field, etc., etc., are "incognitos" for the common pursuit of God, who is Truth, in a particular manner appropriate to God's working in the order of nature.

I hope that all who talk glibly of science as "fact" and religion as "value," or of science as purely metrical and religion as purely appreciational, will read this book and change their minds. In the words of one of my revered teachers, "It's a swell little book."

W. NORMAN PITTENGER

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Poetry & Dogma, The Transfiguration of Eucharistic Symbols in Seventeenth Century English Poetry. By Malcolm Mackenzie Ross. (New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1954), pp. xii, 256. \$5.00.

In one of his essays under the general title, "University Subjects," Cardinal Newman observes that the literature of England is Protestant and comments on the influence that literature has had in molding the thought processes and the character of the English people. In *Poetry & Dogma*, Professor Ross shows how the drastic change in thought effected by the Protestant Reformers has influenced English poetry—particularly the religious poetry of the seventeenth century.

Professor Ross rightly sees that the fundamental point on which the Catholic and the Protestant differ is the nature and meaning of the Eucharist. For the Catholic, the Eucharist is "the perpetual renewal, in a mystical and unbloody manner, of the one sacrifice of the Cross, which, with the balm of pain, healed the wound separating God from man, heaven from earth." It "makes present the very Christ who had promised to be with His church always, makes present the Redeemer in His eternal act of redemption." It is a corporate act which, by bringing fallen nature back to God, gives unity and direction to all of man's experiences. For the Protestant Reformers, particularly Calvin and Zwingli, the Eucharist becomes little more than a service commemorating an event that is ever fading further into the past. There may be a personal recollection of the sacrifice on Calvary; there is no personal participation in the sacrifice.

According to Professor Ross, the principal effect for literature of the change in Eucharistic dogma was the disintegration of the body of Christian symbols and the fragmentation of human experience. The symbol (in the author's usage) is both itself and something else, as the elements of the Eucharist are both bread and wine and at the same time the Real Body and Blood. In Protestant dogma the elements of the Eucharist are metaphors rather than symbols—they represent the Body and Blood, but they remain only themselves, bread and wine.

Professor Ross traces in the decline of what he calls "purely Christian poetry" in the seventeenth century the growing cleavage between the dogmatic and rhetorical levels of Christian symbols, particularly in the symbols of the Eucharistic sacrifice, until John Milton creates a new body of purely Protestant symbols. He shows how the poets turned to the English crown for a symbol capable of expressing the corporate sense of the people and how certain of the minor poets came close to defying the Virgin Queen and King Charles. He points out that we can never be entirely sure of what an early seventeenth-century poet means when he uses Eucharistic symbols, since in many cases the traditional symbols have for him lost their dogmatic significance. There is a shift from symbol to metaphor in poetry corresponding to the shift from symbol to metaphor in dogma.

The author pleads for modern Christian artists to create Christian art—to give once again a sacramental knowledge of reality. He does not urge, however, that the artist should attempt to turn back the clock to pre-Reformation times. "A sacramental re-entry into the experience, the knowledge, the sensibility, of our time can scarcely be effected by any effort, however fervent, to restore a Christian idiom appropriate to another and vastly different cultural moment." The modern poet should be prepared to use the new symbols of the sciences in the creation of a Christian art for our times.

Poetry & Dogma is not an easy book to read, though it is a fascinating one. It requires the reader to stay mentally alert and to read slowly and carefully. Both the student of poetry and the Christian scholar (happily the two are sometimes combined) should find the work of great interest, though they may not be in agreement with what Professor Ross has to say. Anglicans should find especially interesting the chapter on "The Anglican Dilemma."

Professor Ross' style is on the whole commendable. Though he is dealing with subtle and highly complex ideas, he nearly always manages to be urbane, literate, and witty. The first two chapters are somewhat less lucid than the rest of the book. It is perhaps ungracious to point out a trifling error in a work of such erudition, but the nominative case is erroneously substituted for the genitive in the Latin phrase quoted on page 6.

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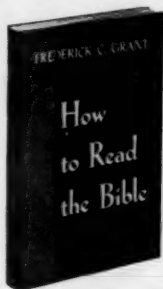
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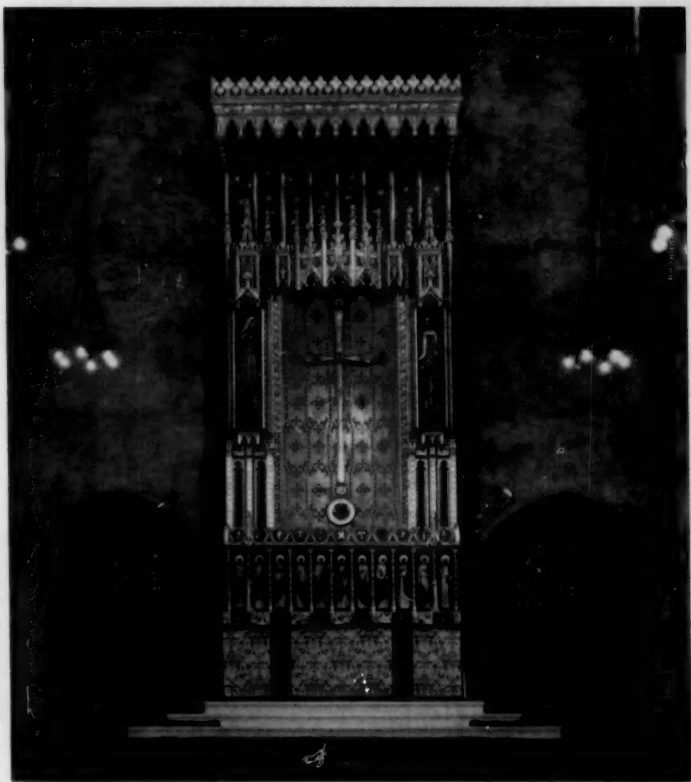
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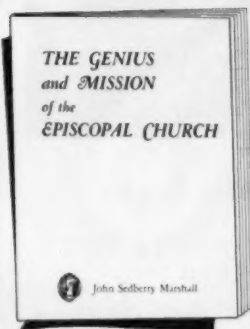
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